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THE ALL WHITES ARE ALRIGHT WITH US: AN ANALYSIS OF NEW ZEALAND
NATIONAL MEDIA COVERAGE SURROUNDING THE 2010 ALL WHITES WORLD
CUP FINALS CAMPAIGN

By

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I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work. When the ideas, quotations, and data of others have been used in the report, the work has been properly cited in the text.

Arron Mark Stewart

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This research project, culminating in the thesis you are now reading, owes much to the support and effort of two important people. Firstly, I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Toni Bruce for her guidance, insight, and support during this research project and the preparation of this thesis. Her ongoing presence as a mentor figure throughout my many and various years as an undergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate student at the University of Waikato, and also our working relationship as colleagues, have been incredibly valuable to me, both academically and personally. Secondly, I wish to thank my fiancée Christina, who has supported me throughout this project, having coped admirably with my episodes of writer's block, struggles to meet deadlines, and self-imposed exile to my office hermitage.

I find cause to reflect at this point. I think, as I often have, about my sixth form college dean, who, in the process of kicking me out of his office, had once dismissed me as a “dropkick”, and a “useless waste of space”, advising me to “join the army - if they'll even take you”. Looking back, I can understand his frustration. I had been nothing but a thorn in his side all the preceding year. To put it plainly, college, when I bothered to turn up, was a place I went to eat lunch, play sports, and look at girls. After barely passing my fifth form school certificate, and failing miserably in two successive attempts at completing the sixth form equivalent, I went on to drop out of college, to clean a supermarket from midnight-till dawn for over two, miserable, years.

When I decided to apply at the University of Waikato, I choose the field of sport and leisure studies, something I had always been passionate about. If I was going to make a success of anything, I thought to myself, this would surely be it. I still recall writing my application essay, expecting that, ultimately, I would be politely rejected and sent back to my mop and bucket. As it happened, I was accepted into the Bachelors degree programme, and many years, and multiple degrees later, here I am.

If nothing else, this research journey has reminded me of the value of education, and what marvellous things we can achieve when we find, and follow, our passions. I shudder to think how many young people may have listened to their sixth form deans. I, for one, am glad to not be amongst their number.

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THE ALL WHITES ARE ALRIGHT WITH US: AN ANALYSIS OF NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL MEDIA COVERAGE SURROUNDING THE 2010 ALL WHITES WORLD CUP FINALS CAMPAIGN

In June of 2010, the New Zealand men's representative football team, the All Whites, contested the FIFA World Cup finals in South Africa for only the second time. Due to their credible on-field performances and unprecedented exposure in the national media, their campaign captured the attention of the New Zealand public like never before; surpassing even the national interest in the previous 1982 All Whites and their own storied World Cup finals campaign. Mainstream New Zealand's sudden resurgence of interest and the accompanying rise in the All Whites' media profile provided a rare opportunity to undertake a substantial survey of the media discourses surrounding the team in the hopes of better understanding the ways in which national audiences were likely to have (re)configured their understandings regarding the team and, in the broader sense, football's place in the contemporary New Zealand socio-cultural landscape. Via an integration of poststructuralist textual analysis and content analysis, this thesis examined a sampling of national media coverage related to the All Whites' 2010 World Cup campaign. Overarching themes relating to masculinity, nationalism and celebrity were identified, and I argue that audiences engaging with the media discourses surrounding these themes would likely have been encouraged to ascribe to the All Whites (a) an acceptably masculine status, (b) an authentic affiliation to New Zealand national identity, and (c) to ascribe to All Whites captain Ryan Nelsen a legitimated celebrity status. Furthermore, I suggest that these likely interpretations are indicative of an incremental but ongoing shift for football and the All Whites away from New Zealand's socio-cultural periphery and towards its centre.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In June of 2010 the 19th FIFA World Cup finals, held in South Africa, saw the New Zealand national association football team, known colloquially as the ‘All Whites’, take centre stage for a rare flourish in the international sports-media spotlight. This prestigious FIFA tournament event represents the pinnacle of world football, is arguably the most watched sporting event in human history and is undeniably one of the world’s most significant events, sporting or otherwise, to be staged on regular basis (“FIFA World Cup”, 2011) . One cannot overstate the significance of the All Whites’ qualification for the tournament. As a relative football minnow, New Zealand achieved, for only the second time, a milestone the majority of football nations will never realise¹. The All Whites were to play the world’s biggest game, on the world’s biggest stage and, moreover, the world’s biggest audience was watching.

Without wishing to diminish their achievement, it must be noted that the All Whites qualification owes much to Football Federation Australia (FFA) moving out of the Oceania Football Confederation (OFC), and into the more competitive Asian Football Confederation (AFC) as of 2006. This move was intended chiefly to present increased levels of challenge for Australian national teams, who had been demonstrably superior to their Oceanic fellows for some time (including New Zealand on most occasions, excepting most notably 1982). Australia’s entrance into Asian football left New Zealand, by default, as the new powerhouse of oceanic football. Without the daunting prospect of having to overcome Australian teams, qualification for FIFA World Cups, at all levels, effectively became somewhat easier for New Zealand representative sides as of 2006. This was evident when the All Whites qualified for the 2010 FIFA World Cup finals by comfortably winning the Oceania group (minus Australia) and then edging out Bahrain, the fifth-placed team from the Asian Football Confederation (AFC), 1-0 in a two match, home/away, inter-confederation playoff².

The qualifying campaign itself, and New Zealand’s credible on-field performances, captured the attention of the New Zealand public. Here I personally witnessed a period where football became firmly installed as the sport du jour in New Zealand, enjoying a glut of media

¹ At the time of writing (2011), FIFA encompassed 208 affiliated men's national football teams yet only 76 national teams had ever made an appearance in the FIFA World Cup finals.

² Note that, at the time of writing, Oceania is the only confederation that does not have a guaranteed place in the finals. The winner of the Oceania qualifiers must then also defeat Asia’s 5th placed qualifier.

coverage. The trials and tribulations of the national squad had become eminently³ newsworthy, not just as sports news but also, at times, as headline news. Throughout qualifying, in build up to the event and across the group matches of the tournament proper, public interest and the media coverage built steadily, appearing to surpass even the national interest in the storied All Whites World Cup campaign of 1982⁴. Fed by and feeding into the collective consciousness of New Zealanders, the All Whites appeared to enjoy more media exposure in the space of three months than they had in the preceding three years.

At times, media coverage of the All Whites even managed to eclipse coverage of rugby union, the sporting code that, at least in New Zealand, more typically dominates media coverage of sport. The media profile of rugby union, considered by many, if not most, as New Zealand's national sport (Phillips, 1996), appeared to diminish noticeably during this period. Other sporting codes, and even New Zealand's iconic *All Blacks* rugby union team, were left to play a rather tuneless second-fiddle to the football fanfare.

The extent of media coverage surrounding the 2010 All Whites, their prolonged newsworthy status and the heightened levels of public interest in their campaign provided a rare convergence of circumstance. At the nexus of the coverage produced and disseminated by the media and consumption of these texts by mass-mainstream audiences, New Zealanders were likely to be forming or reconfiguring their understandings regarding, amongst other things, the All Whites and their relative positioning in New Zealand's cultural landscape. My study sought to take full advantage of this rare confluence of media and public interest by undertaking a substantial analysis that, at its core, was catalyzed by the two primary questions that underpin this thesis. Firstly, what did the national media's All Whites coverage entail? Secondly, and more importantly, how might such coverage have influenced the New Zealand public's understandings with regards to the All Whites and the sport of football.

When it comes to the All Whites, the FIFA World Cup 2010, and media representations thereof, coverage delivered via the New Zealand sports media is the express focus of this study. The sample that informs this thesis was drawn from online media coverage surrounding the 2010 All Whites and their FIFA World Cup campaign. This material has been constructed and disseminated, by and large, via professionally specialized sports journalists. Note again, that this thesis analyses a sampling of media coverage that is truly

³ See Figure 3 (p. 55).

⁴ See chapter IV for evidence of widespread public interest and investment in the 2010 All Whites Campaign.

exceptional. The coverage sampled is most atypical even in regards to other high-profile periods in All Whites history (e.g., when the All Whites have faced major international fixtures, attended other notable tournaments, and throughout their many previous attempts, and near misses, to qualify for prior FIFA World Cups). Not only is disparity noted in terms the sample's sheer breadth and depth as compared to typical football coverage in the New Zealand media, but also in terms of the intimacy of the coverage; evidenced best in the range of published player and journalist 'blogs', which are a relatively recent development in sports journalism wherein personal disclosures, unabashed opinions, hopes, dreams and laments are conveyed to the audience in a colloquial and seemingly transparent manner (Jordan, n.d.).

In terms of the methods used in this thesis, content analysis was first employed to identify key thematic elements and trends in the sampled coverage. Textual analysis was then employed to explore these themes in some depth, following a number of threads of analysis toward what I have proposed as the most likely New Zealand audience interpretations. Further analysis and critical discussions detail how these likely audience interpretations might contribute to audience understandings of the All Whites and, by proxy, the sporting code of football, its athletes and its associated culture, illuminating in the process a range of implications for a variety of football stakeholders, both potential and preexisting.

Questions might arise as to the benefits of my endeavor to conduct such a study, culminating, as it does, in this thesis. At the time of writing, football is acknowledged as the most popular participation team sport in New Zealand, yet it remains a sport we know relatively little about in the New Zealand socio-cultural context. For example, whilst scholarship regarding men's football alone is prolific internationally (e.g., Archetti, 1994; Alabarces, Tomlinson, & Young, 2001; Beck, 1982; Ben-Porat, 2003; Bishop, 2003; Coelho, 1998; Duke and Crolley, 1996; MacClancy, 1996; Majumdar, 2007; Moorhouse, 1986; Shimizu, 2004; Tzanelli, 2006), the total body of contextualized New Zealand football scholarship is minimal (e.g., Cox & Thompson, 2000; Guoth, 2006; Keane, 2001; Little, 2002). As such, this thesis may prove useful to the hundreds of thousands of football stakeholders in New Zealand (e.g., sports administrators and coaches, legislators, educators, fans, parents, academics, journalists, players, etc.) because it contributes towards a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural narratives that the New Zealand mainstream media promoted via FIFA World Cup 2010 coverage; narratives that may have, in turn, provided New Zealanders with opportunities to (re)interpret the place of the All Whites and of football in New Zealand society and culture.

Such insights help to better locate this popular, yet largely invisible, participation sport⁵ amongst the New Zealand society and culture, particularly in relation to other, better understood, more heavily researched sporting codes and teams such as rugby and its All Blacks.

Indeed, insights into soccer's place in New Zealand have been available to me in limited quantities across my own 25 years as a soccer stakeholder; as a player, coach, scholar, and fan. I was only a toddler when the All Whites qualified for their first FIFA World Cup in 1982, meaning that I have experienced those events only retrospectively; primarily through limited newspaper, film, and photographic archives. I am, therefore, delighted to have had the opportunity to conduct this research project not only with a greater sense of immediacy to the subject matter, but also a deeper appreciation to the socio-cultural context of the post-millennial New Zealand from which the sampled media coverage has emerged. The circumstances surrounding my analysis within this thesis are ideal. Firstly, the wealth of national media coverage surrounding the 'second-coming' of the All Whites at the 2010 FIFA World Cup provides ample material to examine. Secondly, my own background and status as a socio-cultural 'insider' and football stakeholder locates me as an informed and sensitized party, well placed to undertake a meaningful scholarly analysis.

In the next chapter (Chapter II) I set the stage for my findings by reviewing a range of literature regarding the three overarching themes that inform my analysis. The academic study of nationalism, masculinity, and celebrity are all outlined, with specific regard given to how these intersect with the sporting world, and with regard to the New Zealand socio-cultural-historical-sporting context. Chapter III is centered upon issues of methodology and outlines the textual analysis method I have applied throughout this study, as well as specifics surrounding the sampling and coding procedures that have governed my content analysis. Chapters IV, V, and VI present my own findings with regard to, respectively, nationalism, masculinity, and celebrity. The thesis concludes, in Chapter VII, with a conclusion that provides a synthesis of my findings, leading into a brief discussion around the potential implications for football stakeholders in New Zealand, as well as some suggestions for further research.

⁵ Sport and Recreation New Zealand established football participation at 227,226 individuals for the 2008 year (SPARC, 2009), which was approximately 7% of the total New Zealand population at the time.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This thesis engages in a range of media sport analyses that culminate in a range of findings that are derivations of three overarching themes: nationalism, masculinity, and celebrity. Each theme is explored in some detail during the chapters that follow, meaning that a certain base of understanding is important should one wish to fully engage with this thesis and its arguments. The literature review provided in this chapter aims to assist in building such an understanding. I provide an overview of all three themes, each overview beginning with a brief conceptual/theoretical establishment of the overarching concept itself. Following this, I go on to present a synthesis of research surrounding the theme and its articulations with the sporting domain. Finally, some contextualisation is also provided, as to how these themes have previously been examined and understood within the bounds of the New Zealand socio-cultural context.

INTRODUCING NATIONALISM

Nationalism is a concept that can prove difficult to define. There are a variety of contested outlooks, which makes a consensus elusive (Schnee, 2001). Surveying some of the foundational perspectives is illustrative of this discord. Giddens (1981), for instance, argued that nationalism is "the existence of symbols and beliefs which are either propagated by elite groups, or held by many of the members of regional, ethnic, or linguistic categories of a population and which imply a community between them" (pp. 190-191). With his trademark mix of structure and agency, Giddens stresses that nationalistic ideologies can both drive oppression of the people by the state and, equally, fuel the oppositional movements of people versus the state⁶. Giddens traces the origins of nationalism to the period following the French revolution, arguing that its association "in time and in fact with the convergent rise of capitalism and the nation-state" (1981, p. 191) was complimentary, rather than causal.

Alternatively, Anderson (1983, 1991) positioned the nation as a social construct, describing it as "an imagined political community [that is] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (1991, p. 224). Within this construct, collectives of people share a sense of cohesion and interconnection, despite most having never met each other. Yet even though we

⁶ At the time of writing (2011), one might cite the popular revolts in Egypt, Greece, and Syria as examples of people-versus-state nationalism in action.

may never share any form of tangible interaction with others, we know they exist because we are in constant communication with them, even if it is primarily indirect. Anderson argues that development of these imagined communities was due, in large part, to the industrial revolution and the invention of the printing press. The mass production of books and other media in vernacular language formats subsequently allowed common folk, previously alienated by the exclusive use of elitist script languages such as Latin, to consume media in vast quantities. Over time this allowed for common discourses, including nationhood, to be established amongst formerly disparate peoples and across vast geographic distances.

Gellner's (1983) approach to nationalism stressed the socio-political impact of the state as a structural force, especially under the auspices of modernity and its desires to advance industrialisation and capitalism. For Gellner, a sense of nationhood and popular sentiments of nationalism emerge as outcomes of the deliberate societal processes of homogenization that the state institutes to build and maintain a labour force to power industrial society and capitalist interests. As such, Gellner held that nationalism could not have existed in pre-industrial societies, as a given populace's investment in a collective sense of national identity and purpose required the intervention of modernism; for instance, the centralized power of the state, its promotion of collectivist agenda and the resourcing and authority to actualize such an agenda.

Finally, Smith (1991) established nationalism as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining the autonomy, unity, and identity of a nation" (p. 74). Smith pays particular attention to the 'nation' itself, describing it as "a named human population sharing a historical territory, common memories, and myths of origin, a mass standardized public culture, a common economy and territorial mobility, and common legal rights and duties for all members" (p. 60). Here, nationalism emerges as a phenomenon built upon a supposed level of egalitarianism in society and a degree of socio-political and economic continuity.

It becomes immediately clear that numerous contested perspectives exist regarding nationalism at a core conceptual level, all of which, it has been argued, fail to be comprehensive when each is taken in isolation (Schnee, 2001). Examining their sum, however, some consistent points emerge. Taken together, these points help shape the understanding of nationalism I adopt in this thesis.

Firstly, nationalism is generally considered a phenomenon of modern history: whether one accepts it as post-industrial, post-enlightenment or otherwise, it is placed as a relatively

recent development in the passage of human history. Secondly, nationalism is generally perceived as an ideological construct, born and bred of hearts and minds. Thirdly, nationalism is composed of a fluid mix of complex historical, social, cultural, political, and economic influences. Finally, nationalistic ideology purports collective purpose and strength, but can serve, equally, the interests of legitimate power, and the resistance to such power.

Amid the macrocosm of the social world, the domains of sport and war are primary sites where nationalism has been fruitfully examined by scholars (Smith, 1998). At times the two have even been purposefully intertwined (e.g., Gems, 1999; Gomberg, 2000). Examinations in the sporting context are plentiful, and have provided some compelling perspectives on nationalism that inform my own analysis.

NATIONALISM AND SPORT

The profound connections between sport and nationalism are widely accepted amongst scholars, their interdependencies having been explored within a variety of socio-cultural contexts (see: Bairner, 1996; Beckles, 1998; Brichford, 2002; Maguire, Poulton & Possamai, 1999; Mewett, 1999; Tuck, 2001). The cultural primacy of *sporting nationalism* can be evidenced, for example, in the fact that many nations have a culturally privileged 'national' sport, and go to great lengths to be involved in international sporting competitions like the Olympic Games or FIFA football World Cups, (Tomlinson & Young, 2006). Beyond the pomp and ceremony surrounding these events (with all their cultural displays, national anthems, livery, dance, song and, of course, the sporting contests themselves), there is another conflict here; a conflict between nations on a much deeper, symbolic level (Bairner, 2001; Hargreaves, 1992). Bairner (2001) argues that in spite of the mantra that sport and politics should remain separate, this has never been the case and likely never will be; as sport is inherently political. As such, explorations of nationhood that survey the sporting domain are really, on a deeper level, tapping into rich veins of nationalistic politics and ideology. Sport therefore, provides a social space where sporting competition can serve as a proxy for political/ideological conflict between nations, and it is these rivalries that have prompted numerous studies regarding nationalism, its articulations with sport and its widespread appropriation in the service of deeper socio-political machinations (Bairner, 2001). The scope of such rivalries is wide ranging from the intra-national (e.g., ethnic versus mainstream nationalism within the Australian soccer league (ASL) as addressed by Hughson, 1997)

through to global tensions (e.g., Wagg and Andrews, 2007, on nationalism, politics and sport during the cold war).

Popular sports have been host to many examinations considering nationalism and sport, particularly those sports which have been ascribed formally/informally with 'nationalized' status (e.g., rugby in New Zealand and South Africa, baseball in America and Japan, cricket in India and England). It is little surprise, however, that the world's most prolific sport, soccer (football) is also the most visible in world literature (e.g., Alabarces et al., 2001; Archetti, 1994; Beck, 1982; Ben-Porat, 2003; Bishop, 2003; Coelho, 1998; Duke and Crolley, 1996; MacClancy, 1996; Majumdar, 2007; Moorhouse, 1986; Shimizu, 2004; Tzanelli, 2006). International football fixtures, particularly those involving male representative teams, and especially those occurring within high profile tournaments such as the UEFA European championships (Euro) and the FIFA World Cup, have long been popular sites for scholarly examinations of nationalism. Regarding football clashes between the nations of England and Germany in the interwar period (circa 1919-1939), Beck (1982) situated these sporting contests as potent sites for the construction and dissemination of nationalist propaganda to the extent that towards the end of this historical period "...football matches came to be interpreted by governments and the media as a reflection of the quality not only of a country's soccer skills but also of its socio-political system and overall power" (p. 29). When Alabarces et al. (2001) examined a football match between Argentina and England at the France '98 World Cup, they found that both Argentinean and English media drew heavily upon, and reinforced in their coverage, stereotyped narratives of the nation that broadly lacked objective or substantive backing, serving instead to promote myths of respective national and cultural superiority. Bishop (2003) considered representations of nationalism in the British press surrounding a match between England and Germany at the Euro 2000 football tournament, noting media attempts to homogenize national identity via efforts to assimilate a variety of disparate British nationalities in the hopes of mobilizing unified support for a specifically English sporting agenda.

Although many studies on sport and nationalism focus on media representation and the stories or 'narratives of nation' these tell us (about ours and other nations), studies have also explored the co-opting of sport and sporting events to serve explicitly political and ideological ends. Bullock (2000) and Mead (1998), for example, examined the role of baseball in WWII America, suggesting that the army's recruitment of high-status professional sportspeople (baseball stars in particular) served a jingoistic, culturally imperialist brand of

nationalism, playing upon popular conceptions of American masculinity in order to drive recruitment, and positioning the war effort, through the drafting of celebrities both sporting and otherwise, as a glamorous realm of adventure. Carr (1974) found that sports and physical culture played an important role in the dissemination of Nazi party ideology in war-era Germany. It served as a vehicle for the propagation of Aryan nationalism and its various movements, particularly amongst the youth, and was closely tied to the moral and physical discipline that organized sports and athletic pastimes were widely thought to encourage. Examining the 1992 summer Olympics hosted by Spain, Hargreaves (2000) details how the games became a vehicle for socio-political campaigning by the Catalan people (an ethnic nation struggling for self-determination and secession from Spain), noting here some potentially empowering outcomes including economic and cultural stimulus for the Catalan people and the city of Barcelona (the host city and Catalan capital) as well as international exposure for their cause. Bruce and Wensing (2009) examined newspaper 'letters to the editor' pertaining to Aboriginal athlete Cathy Freeman (the women's 400m track gold-medalist at the Sydney 2000 summer Olympics) finding, despite positive media framing of Freeman "as the symbol of national reconciliation" (p. 90), an underlying state of racial tension that was evident amongst the letters in both the separatist/racist opinions of some writers and the venomous replies of others.

Despite the broad body of literature surrounding the articulations of sport and nationalism, Bairner (2001) earmarked globalization as a pressing concern for the future of this academic domain. He points toward growing concerns regarding the future of the relationship between nationalism, sport and the essential construct of the "nation" itself. Bairner summarises his positioning succinctly, stating that "...economic, political, cultural, and ideological trends, supported by a pervasive and all-powerful global media industry, must inevitably destroy the distinctiveness upon which nations, nationalism, and national identities depend for their very existence" (Bairner, 2007: p.3158). There emerges, he claims, a view that the world is in the early stages of transitioning from being a rich mosaic of reasonably delineated and diverse 'nations' to a transnational entity, or what might be dubbed a 'global culture'. Whether or not one welcomes this argued shift, sport remains a primary vehicle for nationalism and, as an increasingly prominent media commodity, it is set to play an important role in the evolutionary/devolutionary processes (depending on one's viewpoint) that researchers have argued are leading towards the globalization of culture, sporting and otherwise (Bairner, 2001; Donnelly, 1996; Rowe, McKay & Miller 1998).

NATIONALISM AND SPORT IN NEW ZEALAND

Whilst football-centric examinations dominate the literature globally, in the New Zealand context the relationships between nationalism and sport have chiefly been explored via examinations of the country's dominant sporting code, rugby union, and have typically involved the ubiquitous national-representative rugby team, the All Blacks. This relationship has been approached from a number of angles.

Focusing on the professional era of All Black rugby (circa 1995 and onwards), Falcous (2005), Hope (2002), Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002), Scherer (2007), and Scherer and Jackson (2010) all note that the global mass-marketing of the All Blacks, although an undoubted success in commercial terms, has involved a process of popular homogenization in which the team itself has become increasingly commoditised with the aid of unique elements of New Zealand's culture. The aforementioned authors found that indigenous Maori culture and its iconography (e.g., the haka, the silver fern), were being co-opted for expressly commercial, as opposed to purely nationalistic, purposes.

Researchers have also addressed issues of nationalism and national identity tied to racial stratifications and post-colonial tensions, with the political and social unrest surrounding the controversial 1981 Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand having been a prominent site for such examinations. Phillips (1996) noted that, given the intensity of the protests and the extent of the social division surrounding the tour, it should be little surprise that critical examinations subsequently addressed New Zealand nationalism, particularly so with regards to its traditional locus in Pakeha (white) male culture and lingering undertones of racism and systemic social inequality born of the nation's troubled colonial history. Chapple (1984), for example, backgrounds the wider context of race-relations surrounding the tour, suggesting that many New Zealanders, Maori in particular, felt uneasy about the tour. He argues that since non-Maori New Zealand men (mostly Pakeha) dominated the NZRFU board and also the pro-tour faction, many New Zealanders, but particularly Maori, viewed playing host to the sporting representatives of a nation under apartheid as a tacit approval of institutionalized racism. Pollock (2004), reflecting upon the tour and the decades of politically charged race relations that followed in New Zealand, concurs. He argues that many Maori empathised with the struggle of black South Africans, establishing therein an ontological alliance that reflected, in part, their own legacy as a colonized people. In addition to fuelling distrust and creating social distance between some Maori and Pakeha, Pollock also describes how some

Pakeha citizens developed, during the tour and in its aftermath, a sense of shame and social anxiety regarding race relations in New Zealand, questioning, perhaps for the first time, the popular image of a New Zealand as united, cohesive nation.

Rugby is, of course, not the only focus for examinations of nationhood, national identity and nationalism. Cosgrove and Bruce (2005), for example, examine the untimely death of New Zealand's America's Cup sailor and adventurer Sir Peter Blake, finding that media coverage of his passing involved the articulation of nostalgic New Zealand nationalism tied strongly to a traditionally hegemonic, but increasingly challenged, white (Pakeha) masculine image. In addition, Smith (2004) examines the manufacture of sporting rivalry between Australia and New Zealand, involving not only rugby but also yachting, cricket, rugby league and netball. He examines the role that this rivalry has played in Australia's and New Zealand's respective constructions of national identity, finding it to be particularly influential in the case of the latter.

Nationalism and the football code have been subject to little in the way of specific scholarly examination in the New Zealand context. Keane (2001) is again the work of note. He detailed a publicly perceived lack of 'Kiwi' authenticity with regard to the 1982 All Whites team, given that "English-born ex-pats⁷ dominated the playing and coaching staff..." (p.51), with over half of the squad being born overseas. The media is argued to have played a role on both sides of this debate, but Keane cites the primary drivers of these credibility attacks as coming from "rugby circles" (p. 55). However, Keane also noted that the general public focused primarily on the fact that the team was succeeding on the world stage, and felt comfortable enough with the team's heavily English makeup so long as it remained a winning team. Needless to say, when the team's winning ways during qualification were supplanted by a poor showing at the 1982 World Cup finals, the team quickly defaulted back to their traditional positioning in the eyes of the kiwi mainstream; as a sporting team of questionable affiliation to the New Zealand nation (Keane, 2001).

In addition to Keane's specific focus on national identity and the All Whites of 1982, Little (2002) and Guoth (2006), whilst not addressing issues relating to nationalism as such, both explore soccer's socio-cultural-historical development in New Zealand, and chronicle therein the game's emergence as the nation's secondary winter sporting code (to rugby union). Little

⁷ Slang term for ex-patriot, meaning one who is temporarily or permanently residing in a country and culture other than that of the person's own.

calls for a reassessment of football's place in New Zealand society, sport and historiography, arguing that football is "far more significant than has been widely recognised" (2002, p. 46), and has traditionally been woefully underrepresented within the historiography of New Zealand sport. Little further suggests that,

such research has the potential to not only reveal important new insights into the understanding of sport in New Zealand, but also offers important opportunities to contribute to wider historical debates about the social and cultural dynamics of the nation as a whole (2002, p. 46).

Finally, Guoth (2006) details football's 19th century roots in New Zealand, noting a range of causal factors in its rapid supplantation by rugby such as soccer's early organizational and administrative shortcomings, a failure to develop the sorts of provincial identities and rivalries that subsequently became attached to rugby, the role of the public education system, and some unfortunate coincidences in timing.

INTRODUCING MASCULINITY

As with nationalism, Coming to grips with the notion of masculinity is, for a number of reasons, a significantly more complex task than one first might assume. Connell (1995, 2000) establishes masculinity as contested terrain, subject to a multitude of social, cultural, and personal interpretations across time and place. Numerous groups or socio-political movements⁸ claim or have claimed the right to define masculinity, and will vociferously defend or privilege certain variations of masculinity constructed on their own terms (see Flood, 1998; Kimmel & Kauffman 1994).

Given such a diverse range of contested opinion, even the term 'masculinity', in and of itself, is somewhat vexing as it implies that the concept has some form of essential, monolithic nature and enjoys widespread agreement regarding its meaning. Indeed, Connell (2000) argues that there is no easy way to define and encapsulate the term, and that instead of the singular, "we need to speak of 'masculinities' ..." (p. 10). Semantics aside, given that there are many outlooks on masculinity, the search for a universal delineation may be futile. It

⁸ Any number of men's groups and men's movements can be identified across the last twenty years. Some examples, from America alone, include: the Mythopoetic men's movement, the Promise Keepers, the American Coalition for Fathers and Children, the Hispanic Men's League, NAMC. (North American Men's Coalition), MWA (Men's Welfare America), Black Fathers United, American Men for Non-Violence, FADD (Fathers Against Drunk Driving) and the Christian Men's Coalition (see Flood, 1998).

remains useful, however, to establish a functional understanding of the concept. Amongst the various avenues one might follow to seek clarification of the matter, sociology and its associated disciplines offer valuable insight.

Although the meaning of masculinity is contested within sociology itself, there is enough agreement amongst sociologists to extract a workable definition. From the sociological perspective (e.g., Connell, 1995, 2000; Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Kimmel & Messner, 1998) masculinity has been defined as (a) a socially constructed gender classification, and (b) a set of meanings or understandings linked to members of the male gender. For sociologists, therefore, masculinity is not innate or essential, but a social construct that is ascribed through social processes (the subject of the ascription being typically, but not necessarily, a male by sex). As Connell (2000) puts it, although masculinity is typically linked with male bodies, either directly or symbolically, it is not “*determined* by male biology” (p. 29, emphasis in original). R.W Connell (1995), perhaps the most important figure in masculinities research, borrowed from Gramscian political theory when coining the term *hegemonic masculinities*, referring to the notion that select variations of masculinity become entrenched over time as normal and natural within a given cultural context. Connell holds that these hegemonic variations enjoy dominance via widespread, although never absolute, social acceptance. In turn, hegemonic masculinities come to dominate over other variations, which are therefore subjugated as either *alternative* or *subordinated* masculinities. Connell (1995) also details that, in many cultures, but again not universally, the dominant hegemonic conceptions of masculinity, those that are the most valued and thus encouraged within society at large, are inextricably linked with traits such as aggression, competitiveness, courage, physicality, work ethic and a grand provider narrative.

Beyond issues of definition alone, the sociological view also stresses that masculinity, in its actual expression within the social world (not as an abstracted textbook concept) is primarily performative in nature (Connell 1995, 2000; Kimmel & Messner, 1998). This means that sociologists prefer to talk about ‘doing’ masculinity, as opposed to ‘being’ masculine (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). Masculinity in this light, is not something that is automatic or granted, but something that needs to be actively engaged with and pursued. As such, a man must continually work at ‘doing’ masculinity in order to achieve and maintain a socially approved masculine status, should this be his desire. Men’s day-to-day experiences in the social world therefore provide both opportunities to bolster or confirm masculine status, but also the ever

present risk of having one's masculine status compromised or retracted. Perhaps the most extreme forms of performativity are often theatrical displays of *hypermasculinity*, which Kimmel and Aronson (2004) describe as "... compulsive masculine self-identity concerns and behaviours" (p. 417), involving the exaggeration of stereotypical male behaviours and traits such as an emphasis on strength, aggression and physical size, and also the domination of women, physical space and social interactions in both private and public settings (Connell, 1995).

MASCULINITY AND SPORT

If expressions of masculinity are most evident in the 'doing', and especially in the theatrics of male social performance, it is little wonder that the realm of sports has proven fertile ground for masculinities research. At least in its pervasive romanticized form, there are few things (excepting perhaps war) that are represented in the media and popular culture as being so thematically masculine in nature as sporting competition (Messner, Dunbar & Hunt, 2000). I am being purposefully reductive when I say that the majority of research examining the articulations of sport and masculinity are rooted in problematic issues of male aggression. These studies can all be seen, at a fundamental level, as perspectives on violence; its precursors, its manifestations on and off the playing field, who it affects and how.

Violence can be seen to evidence itself variously in the world of male sporting endeavor; including expressions of violence against the self, violence against other men and violence against women, or what Kaufman (1986) dubbed the *triad of men's violence*. Messner (1990) notes difficulty in pinning down a sufficient definition of *sporting violence*, establishing sporting violence as being witnessed when "the human body is routinely turned into a weapon to be used against other bodies, resulting in pain, serious injury, and even death" (p. 94). In this thesis sporting violence is held broadly as both a literal and figurative notion, the intention being to acknowledge that sporting violence is not merely a physical phenomenon wherein bodies do damage to each other, but is also made manifest in less tangible verbal, psychological and symbolic forms such as threats, rumors, intimidation, sexual harassment and social exclusion.

The potential enculturation of violence amongst men via sporting mediums has been examined by a number of scholars. Such research tends to have been conducted in Westernized countries and has typically centered around two primary sites; (a) the realm of

professional sports competition, particularly contact sports as represented through the mainstream media (e.g., Bryant, Comisky, & Zillmann, 1981; Bryant, 1989; Kerr, 2006; Messner, Dunbar & Hunt, 2000; Sullivan, 1991; Trujillo, 1995) and (b) the sporting experiences of male children and adolescents within the schoolyard and/or physical education classes and/or school-affiliated programs (e.g., Garry & Morrissey, 2000; Kreager, 2007; Light & Kirk, 2000; Pringle, 2001; Shields, 1999). There are some notable points of common consensus and debate that emerge from this diverse body of literature. One point of agreement amongst authors regards the primacy of violence and aggression within the boundaries of male involvement in sports, particularly with regard to male contact sports within team contexts. This is especially so with regards to examinations of heavy contact/combat sports (e.g., ice hockey, rugby union, rugby league, boxing and gridiron). Authors such as Guilbert (2004), Hutchins and Mikosza (1998), Kreager (2007), Messner (1990), Messner et al. (2000), Messner, Weinstein, Smith and Wiesenthal (1995), and Ward (2002) have noted that a capacity and tolerance for violence, albeit framed by sport-specific frameworks of *fair play*, is *required* of all men who consent to play heavy contact sports in order to be efficacious players. Authors, however, have generally been critical of accepting sporting violence as being something that is confined within the sporting domain. Instead, concerns are raised regarding the ways in which permissive stances and attitudes towards violence in male sport may be contributing towards (a) the normalization and trivialization of violence, (b) the long term contributions of sporting violence to masculine self-concepts and masculine culture, in all its many forms, and (c) the inculcation/enculturation of violence as an instrumental, or even preferable, means towards achieving not only goals in the sporting context but also within the wider context of daily life.

The notion that male involvement in violent sports may lead to spill-over violence has been subject to some examination (e.g., Crosset, 1999; Smith & Stewart, 2003; Pakalka & White, 2006). Primarily, these studies have centered upon North American collegiate athletes and have focused upon manifestations of violence within the men's courtship practices, sexual encounters and intimate relationships. Such studies have sought to examine whether fundamental links can be established between male immersion in sports violence, and incidents of relationship/sexual violence. Crosset, Ptacek, McDonald and Benedict (1996) found a statistically significant overrepresentation of male student-athletes in reports of battery and sexual assault against women over a three year period. Forbes, Adams-Curtis,

Pakalka and White (2006) surveyed the sports participation history of 147 male American college students, finding that

...men who participated in aggressive sports reported that they used more psychological aggression, more physical aggression, and more sexual coercion in their college dating relationships than did men in the comparison group. Also as hypothesized, men in the aggressive sports group reported causing more physical injury to their partners. (p. 448)

Although these results indicate that participation in aggressive sports may be a significant pathway leading to a range of sexual and relationship violence, both Jackson (1991), also considering American collegiate athletes, and Smith and Stewart (2003), regarding athletes at an English University, found no reliable evidence of such links. Also, Crosset (1999) found the debate as to whether male athletes commit more violence against women compared to those who do not participate in organized sports to be overly simplistic. He argued, instead, for an alternative model that looks at student-athlete violence against women with greater regard to factors such as substance abuse, head injuries, and peer support. As such, the point remains moot.

Verbal violence directed at women has also been examined by scholars delving into homosocial sites of sporting masculinity. Lyman (1987), examining male interaction in the sports bar, found that misogynistic attitudes, expressed primarily in the form of sexist jokes, formed a core element of fraternal bonding. Similarly, Fine (1987) noted the early development of sexist attitudes towards women and their verbal dissemination via jokes shared amongst young boys playing little-league baseball. Analysing talk fragments collected from male locker rooms, Curry (1991) portrayed a domain wherein the performance of masculinity, and maintenance of masculine status, evidences a violent verbal misogyny; finding that "...locker room talk about women, though serving a function for the bonding of men, also promotes harmful attitudes and creates an environment supportive of sexual assault and rape" (p. 132).

In his examinations of both openly gay and closeted professional athletes, Anderson (2002, 2005) pointed to a softening of hostilities towards homosexual athletes. Anderson suggested with cautious optimism that male athletes can, increasingly, be gay and still be accepted amongst their heterosexual peers and in general society as *authentically masculine*. Hardin,

Kuehn, Jones, Genovese and Balaji (2009), however, caution against such progressive readings, considering these to be superficial improvements, at best. Interpretations such as those of Anderson, they hold, fail to acknowledge the subtleties of an insidious *neo-homophobia*, an ideology that appears to encourage optimism at a surface level but ultimately fails to fundamentally challenge the status quo of hegemonic masculinity and its rampant homophobia. Hardin et al. found neo-homophobia particularly evident in mainstream media representations of contemporary gay athletes, wherein focus is given to only a few high-profile gay athletes (e.g., gay NBA player, John Amaechi) who are then represented in contradictory forms and juxtapositions that are progressive to an extent but remain, fundamentally, underpinned by stereotypes and prejudices.

There are many explorations of sport and masculinity that have taken a critical view of the role played by media, with coverage of professional team contact sports the primary scholarly focus. The literature has typically linked media portrayals of sporting masculinity to an over-emphasis on violence, aggression and conflict (e.g., Jansen & Sabo, 1998; McKay & Middlemiss, 1995; Messner et al., 2000; Trujillo, 1995; Whannel, 2002). As examples, verbal confrontations, fisticuffs between players, acts of foul play, body collisions and injuries sustained in sports action all receive significant, often disproportionate, media attention. Sometimes, the level of attention directed at such incidents matches, or even exceeds, that directed at pivotal turning-points in play or highlight reel moments of tremendous skill or fortune/misfortune. Production techniques such as multi-angle, slow motion camera work and graphic descriptive commentary are all common modes in which this content is given emphasis and impact (Trujillo, 1995).

Messner et al. (2000) examined approximately 23 hours of U.S. televised sports programming, including 722 commercials, distilling this coverage into a particularly useful ten point ideological narrative they dubbed the *Televised Sports Manhood Formula*. Items relating to aggression and violence feature strongly here. For instance, athletes who continue to play after being injured or return to action prematurely at the risk of injury (both forms of violence against the self; see Sabo's (1986) *pain principle*) are widely praised for their heroism or courage. In addition, they found U.S. sports commentary to be replete with martial language and war metaphors (verbal/metaphorical violence). Further, in the sports action portrayed via U.S. television coverage, violence and aggression were routinely presented as

acceptable, exciting and rewarded behaviors (a trivialization of violence and its inter/intra personal and societal consequences).

As a final note, because media sport consumption is a preeminent leisure pastime for men, the impact of ongoing exposure to mediated sport and its over-emphasized, trivialized and unrepentantly violent elements has come to concern many scholars, especially so with regards to the consumption of media sport amongst boys in their impressionable, formative years (Kirsh, 2006; Messner, Hunt, Dunbar, Chen, Lapp, & Miller, 1999). A study commissioned by the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles found that 97% of American boys aged 8 to 17 were consuming some form of sports-related media and, of this, 93% were watching televised sports coverage (AAF/ESPN, 2001). This figure can be reasonably expected to reflect the current state of play in many westernized countries (including New Zealand), with any drop in television viewership likely to have been compensated for by the increasing availability and popularity of the internet as a provider of sports media content (Jones, 2004). There is widespread support in the literature that media representation of high profile sportsmen, both on and off the field, should remain of concern because this ranks as a major influence upon the development of masculine self-concept amongst youth; alongside equally impactful, and often equally *hypermasculine*, portrayals of action-movie stars and rappers (Messner et al., 1999).

MASCULINITY AND SPORT IN NEW ZEALAND

To date, examinations of sporting masculinities situated in the socio-cultural context of New Zealand have revolved primarily around the aggressive, heavy-contact team sport of rugby union. Given the game's long established relationship with the construction and validation of hegemonic masculinities and its culturally privileged position as New Zealand's national sport, its popularity as an avenue for the exploration of sporting masculinities is unsurprising. Phillips (1996) and Ryan (1996) reflected upon the historical progression of rugby union, its rapid rise to cultural centrality and its strong ties with the hegemonic masculine ideal. They detailed how the game was first introduced in New Zealand (circa 1870) as a civilizing force, intended to provide a constructive channel for taming a rambunctious frontier spirit. Somewhat ironically, rugby eventually came to fill a very different role in the second half of the 20th century as it was transformed into a vigorous riposte against a perceived wave of indolence thought to be accompanying the nation's rapid shift towards urbanization. Phillips

(1996) detailed the game's long-standing associations with the iconic, Pakeha-centered image of the 'kiwi bloke', and its ties to a hegemonic masculine ethos built around notions of physical and mental hardness, work ethic, meritocracy and egalitarianism.

The status of rugby in New Zealand's popular culture, and its images of masculinity are seldom challenged. Nauright and Black (1996) detailed a national obsession with a romanticised sense of rugby nostalgia, one that has long served the interests of a predominantly male, white and middle class hegemony, and "...can serve to create new forms of cultural conservatism that hearken back to the glory days of old" (p. 232). It is argued here that conservatism driven by nostalgia has aided in maintaining the social status quo, and has reinforced stereotypes of traditional New Zealand masculinity across generations. Phillips (1996), however, noted a decline in the traditional stereotype of hegemonic masculinity in New Zealand as of the latter decades of the 20th century. He argued that rugby might be more accurately seen as just one pillar of many, supporting a more complex construct of contemporary hegemonic masculinity that is influenced, but not limited, by masculine tradition; a gradual social transformation he discussed as the "bloke under siege" (Phillips, 1996, pp. 262-293).

There are also some critical examinations that question the centrality, utility and relevance of rugby to New Zealand's masculine culture, and the self-concept of New Zealand men. Pringle (2001, 2003) and Pringle and Markula (2005) illuminated the often understated or unrecognized complexity of masculinity as mediated through men's experiences in rugby. Broadly speaking, these works represent rugby as a discursive realm, stressing the interplay between systems of power and men's often tumultuous negotiation of this contested terrain. Rugby is presented here as a contested, ideologically-charged territory, wherein there is evidence of both inculcation and enculturation of hegemonic masculine ideology but also evidence of active resistance to its influence and rejection of its values.

Finally, a limited focus is also evident with regards to New Zealand masculinities and the history of Maori (indigenous New Zealanders) involvement with rugby. Maclean (1999) found that Maori are historically omitted from the iconography and historical representations of New Zealand masculinity, despite being active participants in just about all masculine social spheres. He suggests an incongruity regarding their relative invisibility in New Zealand's largely Pakeha (New Zealanders of European heritage) history of masculine

culture, especially given the heavy involvement of Maori with rugby and the All Black tradition. From another perspective, Hokowhitu (2004, 2005) argued that Maori masculinities have become, in the post colonial period, valued primarily for their physicality. Maori achievement in rugby/sports therefore, although typically framed in a positive light, acts to reinforce a discourse Hokowhitu feels has long served Pakeha colonial interests; encouraging male Maori to focus on their physicality, rather than their holistic potential as physical, spiritual, artistic, intellectual, and social beings.

Whilst rugby features notably, there is, at the time of writing, a relative dearth of substantial academic material regarding the relationships between football (soccer) and masculinity in New Zealand. Football-centric writing on masculinity is prolific worldwide, but perhaps the most notable scholarly piece from the New Zealand context is Keane's (2001) work: *'Ex-pats' and 'Poofers': The New Zealand All Whites*, which addresses public perceptions of the 1982 All Whites squad (the first and, outside of the 2010 squad I examine, only New Zealand national side to qualify for the prestigious FIFA world cup finals). Keane notes that at the time soccer (football) "was known in New Zealand sporting culture as the game for 'poofers', 'girls', or 'blouses'" (p. 50-51), whereas real men preferred to play more manly sports such as rugby. It is also suggested in Keane's work that the squad's successful qualification, and in particular their winning of games in doing so, eased (albeit briefly) some of the homosexual/unmanly connotations surrounding football participation for men in New Zealand. However, no lasting effect was noted by the author, as the interest in football and the men of the team, whilst huge for a short while, quickly dissipated; with football promptly returning to its traditional, subordinated masculine and sporting status.

Indeed, football in the New Zealand context, despite being a popular participation sport for males, has typically been understood as a site associated with the representation and reproduction of subordinated masculinities (Keane, 2001). New Zealand football is, therefore, framed quite differently when compared with, for example, typical understandings within European or South American socio-cultural contexts, wherein the game has a long established role as a key site for the representation and reproduction of hegemonic masculinities via a variety of processes and agents, across a variety of social spaces. For example, football's role in the propagation of hegemonic configurations of masculinity has been found to involve the enforcement of male superiority and the gender order in the British context (Skelton, 2000), the enacting of masculine rite-of-passage in Costa Rica (Sandoval-

Garcia, 2005), and the enculturation of machismo amongst Spanish males (Goig, 2008). Therefore, in nations other than New Zealand, football has traditionally played a role that is, broadly speaking, similar to that of rugby union in New Zealand.

INTRODUCING CELEBRITY

Having established both nationalism and masculinity as concepts, the third and final part of this literature review regards the notion of *celebrity*. A celebrity is, in the simplest of terms, an individual of note within a given socio-cultural context. Boorstin (1971) provides one of the early texts regarding celebrity and society, noting a developing American obsession with media-engineered portrayals of reality he dubbed “simulations” and influential “counterfeit people” those we might now term, in the contemporary, as celebrities (pp. 45-46). Indeed, the notion of national, or global, celebrities is a relatively new phenomenon in human history, enabled for the most part by information technology, globalization processes, media liberalization, media networking and cultural homogenization to name but a few macro factors from the late 20th century⁹ (Turner, 2004).

Marshall (2004) examines celebrity with a particular focus on its articulations with social/cultural power and privilege in contemporary media. According to Marshall, celebrity exists as a dynamic construct situated at the nexus of media representation and audience interpretation. He regards celebrity as being inherently ambiguous, able as it is to ascribe upon individuals both authentic and artificial cultural significance and, equally, due to its ability to elicit, often unpredictably, both sympathetic and antipathetic responses from media audiences. Marshall notes that celebrity is also, increasingly, sequestered or sometimes entirely constructed for its commodity value. Attention is also given to the increasing transferability, or ‘crossover factor’, of modern celebrity status (e.g., sportspeople, corporate CEOs, models, musicians, and dancers who take up roles as actors, spokespeople, or television personalities).

Gamson (1994) makes a useful differentiation between popular celebrity in the first and second halves of the 20th century. The former is linked primarily to authentic merit (e.g., possessing exceptional skill, talent or intellect, participating in memorable events of history, achieving or excelling in valued socio-cultural domains such as academia, politics, sports, the arts, etc), whereas the latter, increasingly, incorporates the commoditisation of celebrity and a

⁹ Incidentally, these factors also enabled the development and spread of nationalism (see Chapter IV).

aspirational mass-market appeal that transcends merit alone. On the global stage, physicist Albert Einstein in the former, and hotel-heiress Paris Hilton in the latter, might be seen as celebrities (of their time) who embody these respective positions. In the New Zealand context, mountaineer Sir Edmund Hillary might be seen as an example of one who held celebrity status based upon authentic merit, whereas former All Blacks, Marc Ellis and Matthew Ridge, once authentic celebrities on merit of their athletic abilities, have since transitioned in and out of celebrity status, on multiple occasions, through various more or less successful roles as entrepreneurs, media personalities and television presenters.

The tendency toward the commoditization of modern celebrity noted by Gamson (1994) is described by Moeran (2003) as a *name economy*, wherein celebrities are increasingly positioned through mass-media marketing as brands in and of themselves, their celebrity name and public image thereby becoming transferable across a range of market applications. Whereas a celebrity might once have held commercial value primarily in a market that represents a logical extension of their celebrity (a celebrity athlete endorsing sports shoes for example) that same athlete might now, assuming his or her celebrity branding is strong enough, be able to sell hamburgers, solicit donations to animal welfare, promote a brand of toothpaste, and release his or her own line of signature fragrance (e.g., English footballer, David Beckham¹⁰).

Studies have generally indicated that celebrity-driven endorsement campaigns are effective across a range of applications including consumer products (Agrawal & Kamakura, 1995), public health promotions (Cram, Fendrick, Inadomi, Cowen, Carpenter, & Vijan, 2003) and charity drives (Samman, McAuliffe, & Maclachlan, 2009). However, surveying a range of celebrity endorsement campaigns, Walker, Langmeyer and Langmeyer (1992) noted that there are risks involved in this approach, citing some spectacular failures. Such failures, according to Schlecht (2003), result from advertisers failing to comprehend “...the complex processes underlying celebrity endorsement”, and have tended to involve poor decision making regarding “source credibility and attractiveness” (p. 11), as well as a lack of understanding or application of important psychological and sociological theories drawn from scholarship in the marketing field (e.g., the ‘match-up hypothesis’ and the ‘meaning transfer model’). Regardless of the risk, Schlecht noted that celebrity endorsement remains a popular approach to advertising and, under the right circumstances, remains efficacious to the point

¹⁰ For an in-depth look at celebrity branding amongst sportspeople see Milligan (2004).

that one can justify the high costs (sometimes millions of dollars) typically associated with contracting celebrities.

Academic examinations of celebrity have revolved around a number of taxonomies, each seeking to further delineate the notion of celebrity, and its stratifications, by providing a systematic framework for categorisation and organisation (Turner, 2004). Alberoni (1972) was one of the first to propose an organisational system, emphasising the role of social power by differentiating celebrities into two distinct categories; (a) those whose celebrity is bound to legitimate power (e.g., economic, political and religious) and (b) those whose celebrity is bound to widespread public interest in their lives, loves, actions, and achievements. The shortcomings of Alberoni's work have been widely exposed. Turner (2004), for example, notes a number of criticisms that render it antiquated and obsolete. Firstly, the system is too rigid to adequately cope with celebrity crossover between the two classifications. Secondly, the system does not adequately cater for the 'reality star' or the 'accidental celebrity', individuals who typically lack legitimate power and live relatively ordinary, uninteresting lives outside of their media appearances.

Monaco (1978) established a more robust taxonomy of celebrity featuring three distinct categories. The first categorisation, the hero, encompasses those who have risen to celebrity status by triumphing against the odds, going beyond the call of duty, or achieving that which is perceived in society as spectacular and extraordinary (e.g., mountaineer Sir Edmund Hillary, and astronaut Neil Armstrong). Monaco's second category, the star, encompasses those whose public profile takes precedence over their professional status or achievements, wherein their celebrity status is tied only peripherally to merit (troubled actress, pop singer, and model Lindsay Lohan, for example). Finally, Monaco suggests a third category, the 'quasar', referring here to individuals who have come upon celebrity unwittingly, and largely in a passive mode (e.g., survivors of disasters, victims of high-profile crimes); these individuals being conceptualised as short-term, eminently disposable pseudo-celebrities who are created by the news media but quickly forgotten.

A more recent taxonomy, provided by Rojek (2001), caters better for trends in contemporary celebrity. This three-pronged system is organised according to the manner in which individuals come to be associated with celebrity status. Rojek detailed that celebrity is either *ascribed*, through right or bloodline (e.g., British royal heir, Prince Charles), *achieved*, through competition, success and excellence (e.g., basketball legend Michael Jordan), or

attributed via media forces (e.g., reality T.V star Nicole Ritchie, and viral internet sensations such as the ‘star wars kid’, the ‘afro ninja’ and ‘lonelygirl15’¹¹). Rojek allows for a degree of fluidity within this system, recognising that one’s celebrity status may, at times, involve a positioning within multiple categories or a certain degree of transience. Finally, in supplement to this overarching taxonomy, Rojek provides the notion of the *celetoid*, a state of pseudo-celebrity that is short-lived and lacking in substance, catering here for the persistence of the aforementioned accidental celebrities (re: Monaco’s quasars) who fall short of all three classifications. Turner (2004) suggests that Rojek provides here, a robust taxonomy that is adaptable enough to cope with the dynamic and fragmented climate of contemporary celebrity.

As is evident in the various configurations of the aforementioned celebrity taxonomies, celebrity itself is a dynamic phenomenon. Advances in technology have, in turn, shaped the media, the primary means by which modern celebrity is constructed and disseminated. Modern configurations of media, involving complex multi-media networks and the increasing influence of the internet, have rendered obsolete many scholarly attempts to demarcate celebrity at a conceptual level. As the next sections detail, celebrity athletes are increasingly associated with a celebrity status that is complex; linked not only to their sporting accomplishments, but also their commodity value and positioning as role models in the public sphere. Herein, the celebrity status of athletes is potentially ascribed or achieved, often interchangeably or simultaneously. Therefore, it is certainly Rojek’s (2001) taxonomy of celebrity that underpins this thesis, being, at the time of writing, most in-step with the fluidity of contemporary configurations of mass media and multimedia celebrity.

CELEBRITY AND SPORT

Across the latter half of the 20th century, athletes have ranked amongst the most visible and influential of celebrities, a trend that looks set to continue throughout the 21st century. The primacy of these celebrity athletes has lead to a range of research into sporting celebrity as a phenomenon, many investigations focussing upon either (a) the cultural politics and power systems underpinning the construction of sporting celebrity, and/or (b) the economic machinations of sporting celebrity as a commodity, especially with regards to African-

¹¹ See website www.knowyourmeme.com for comprehensive information and timelines detailing these and many other internet memes. “Internet meme” referring to a trend, catchphrase or concept that spreads rapidly from person to person through viral internet dissemination (Internet Meme, n.d.).

American sportsmen, and/or (c) the socio-cultural impact of sporting celebrities as role-models.

Regarding the cultural politics of sporting celebrity, authors have widely recognized a rise in prominence for both black and female athletes throughout the latter part of the twentieth century, but this has been linked to a lingering range of negative associations, including but not limited to: black athletes and social deviance (e.g., Davis & Harris, 1998; Hoberman, 1997); lesbian athletes, sexual deviance, and risk (e.g., Griffin, 1992; Kane, 1996); and the sexualisation, infantilisation, and objectification of female athletes (e.g., Duncan & Kane, 1996; Kane & Lenskyj, 1998; Messner, 1997). Authors have also noted the relative invisibility of Native American, Hispanic and Asian athletes (e.g., Hilliard, 2005), disabled athletes (e.g., Hardin & Hardin, 2004), and transsexual athletes (e.g., Cavanagh & Sykes, 2006) amid the ranks of sporting celebrity, despite a wealth of talent and notable achievements.

The widespread commoditization of celebrity, as I have previously discussed, is highly evident in the realm of sports. On this tack, the increasing bankability of African-American (largely male) athletes across the last 30 years has been a particularly popular topic for academic examination. A number of authors (e.g., Andrews, 2001, 1996; Cole & Andrews, 1996; Hoberman 1997) have detailed a significant shift in the media profiles and commercial fortunes of African-American athletes in recent decades. This is especially so with regards to their transcendence of traditional racial barriers within American markets and the ways in which some black athletes have been positioned by marketers to successfully appeal to a wealthy consumer base that is largely white (Andrews, 2001). Golfer Tiger Woods (e.g., Billings, 2003; Farrell, Karels, Montford, & McClatchey, 2000; Houck, 2006) and basketballer Michael Jordan (e.g., Andrews, 1996, 2001; LaFeber, 2002) are amongst the most notable, and commonly examined, athletes.

One of the most emphatic examples of this transcendence can be witnessed in the tremendous success of the National Basketball Association (NBA). Whitson (1998) holds the NBA to be a model example of how to conduct professional sports in the contemporary climate, a benchmark representing perhaps the most profound example of the synergistic convergences between sport, the media and the corporate world. Scholars such as Jackson (1996) and Andrews (1997) have even gone so far as to refer to the NBA as the “(trans) national” basketball association (in their article titles), a play upon words that refers to its influence

upon popular culture and marketplaces on the global scale. A major factor in this success revolves around the NBA having a long and storied history of producing some of the more significant and commercially viable athletes in the history of modern professional sports (Whitson, 1998), most of whom since the 1980s have been African-American (e.g., Magic Johnson, Charles Barkley, Dennis Rodman, Scottie Pippen, Shaquille O'Neal, Kobe Bryant, LeBron James). It is legendary basketball superstar Michael Jordan, however, who is not only, arguably, the greatest player (athlete) in the history of the game, but perhaps one of the most preeminent sporting celebrities of all time; his global, cross-cultural, cross-generational, multi-market impact having left an indelible mark on both the sporting and corporate worlds (Andrews, 2001). In recent years, this torch may well have been passed to another iconic athlete of African-American descent; golfer, Tiger Woods (Cashmore, 2008).

Authors have also considered the socio-cultural impact of sporting celebrities as role models (e.g., Adriaanse & Crosswhite, 2008; Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Ewens & Lashuk, 1989; Fitzclarence & Hickey, 1998; Globus, 1998, Lines, 2001, 2002) a term which, in the simplest sense, can be defined as an individual "...perceived as exemplary, or worthy of imitation" (Yancey, 1998, p. 254). Such studies have focused on the ways in which media portrayals of celebrity athletes may (or may not) influence media consumers, chiefly with regard to consumers in their formative stages of development (e.g., children, adolescents and youth). The aforementioned studies share a common consensus that for better or for worse, sporting celebrities do serve as influential role models for many young people across a range of contemporary societies. However, two important caveats are repeatedly noted. Firstly, there appears to be a marked gender differentiation in the adoption of celebrity athletes as role models amongst young people. As Biskup and Pfister (1999) noted, "the huge majority of idols, especially of sport heroes, are men, and it is boys who admire sport stars" (p. 199) and certainly, the adoption of sporting celebrities as role models seems to be of both a greater frequency and affective magnitude amongst young males (Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Lines 2001; 2002), particularly when compared to studies that have assessed females in isolation (Adriaanse & Crosswhite, 2008). The subsequent potential for these fixations to influence one's development (e.g., through processes of social and observational learning) are also tilted towards young men, with young women more likely to choose their role models from the ranks of non-sporting celebrity (Adriaanse & Crosswhite, 2008; Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Ewens & Lashuk, 1989; Lines, 2001), or hold attachments to male sporting celebrities that do not revolve around modelling; such as the pleasures of voyeuristic gaze and/or the

sexualisation of the muscular, male athletic body as a form of resistance to patriarchy (Lines, 2002). Secondly, Lines (2001, 2002) finds that media constructions of athletes, although typically framed in positive, pro-social terms, are not necessarily accepted wholesale by young people seeking role models. For example, deep media penetration into the private lives of some role models has actually documented these individuals “using and abusing drugs and alcohol, beating wives and girlfriends, and having extra marital affairs” (Lines, 2001, p. 292), but despite these actions, these athletes typically remain influential and popular even with their contradictory status; as both a public hero, and a private villain made public. Similarly, Globus (1998) notes that sporting celebrities do not necessarily have to be perceived as upstanding citizens in order to be adopted as role models by young people.

CELEBRITY AND SPORT IN NEW ZEALAND

In the New Zealand context, there is a limited body of research that has considered celebrity athletes. Their role as commercial spokespeople has been subject to some examination (e.g., Charbonneau & Garland, 2005(a), 2005(b), 2010; Garland & Ferkins, 2003). Surveying New Zealand advertising practitioners, Charbonneau and Garland (2005a) found that, despite general indications showing increased use of celebrity endorsements (athletes or otherwise) worldwide, the majority of New Zealand advertisers are wary of this promotional approach. The thoughts of one respondent are particularly illustrative of this trend towards caution, “...it’s usually too expensive, practically problematic and the celeb can overpower the brand message. We would prefer to really interrogate the product or service, and make the advertising idea revolve around that, rather than a third party” (p. 8).

Despite evidence of advertiser aversion, celebrity athletes in New Zealand have acted as promotional figures for any number of charities, public service campaigns and brand/product endorsements. Interestingly, research suggests that female athletes may potentially be more commercially viable than their male counterparts in the New Zealand context (e.g., Charbonneau & Garland, 2005a, 2005b). For example, in surveying audience responses to kiwi sporting celebrities, Charbonneau and Garland (2005b) found that female athletes Bernice Mene (netball) and Sarah Ulmer (cycling) outperformed their male counterparts Stephen Fleming (cricket) and Justin Marshall (rugby union). Both women were rated “as particularly good ‘all rounder’s’ for product endorsement” (p. 5), and were credited with generally higher levels of perceived attractiveness, trustworthiness and expertise amongst study respondents. However, while the apparent commercial viability of these two female

athletes bodes well for their respective media profiles, it is atypical given the historical lack of day-to-day media coverage for female athletes in New Zealand (Bruce, 2008b).

There is also some research regarding celebrity athletes as role models in New Zealand society (e.g., Donne & McDonald, 1991; Melnick & Jackson, 1998, 2002). Melnick and Jackson (2002) surveyed 510 New Zealand youth, finding athletes to be the most selected of celebrity idols (46.7% of the total). The specific athletes selected by respondents were largely male, regardless of the respondent's gender, a result they found to be congruent with international studies. They do note, however, that, overall, American athletes were selected slightly more often than New Zealand athletes. In regards to the most striking example of this tendency,

NBA basketball superstar Michael Jordan was by far the favourite choice; in fact, he was the most popular choice (24) among the 220 different reference idols selected by the entire sample. By comparison, former New Zealand All-Black and professional rugby league star John Timu, the most popular of the New Zealand choices (8), finished a distant fourth to Jordan. (p. 437)

The popularity of athletes as role models in New Zealand is linked by the authors to the nation's sporting focus and further related to "the inability of the New Zealand entertainment industry to make big-budget, Hollywood-type movies or afford the development of local television programming..." (Melnick & Jackson, 2002, p. 437).

In a previous study, Melnick and Jackson (1998) also noted that some celebrity athletes feature amongst the 'villains' of New Zealand's popular culture but remain influential figures for young people nonetheless. Although this notion is broadly similar to the aforementioned findings of Lines (2001, 2002), Melnick and Jackson do not imply that these villainous athletes hold a subversive appeal for teens but, instead, suggest that these athletes may serve as idols of negative reference, embodying qualities that are not valued by mainstream society, therefore aiding young New Zealanders to "...gain ideological direction" (p. 553). They go on to note that these negative reference idols tended to act as "avoidance role models to mould and shape attitudes, values and behaviours" (p. 543), playing an important role in teenage explorations of identity. Infamous All Black prop, Richard Loe, a man well known for thuggish sporting behaviour, is given as an example of an influential yet vilified sportsman identified in the sample.

With regard to celebrity, football, and New Zealand's All Whites, a lack of academic literature preceding my analysis means that one can only speak in anecdotal terms at this juncture. In my own 25 years of experience as a follower of football, top footballers in New Zealand (be they All Whites or otherwise) have made relatively few appearances in the media in the period prior to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. When they have come into the public eye via media representation, it has typically been only in fits and starts, usually revolving around a sudden glut of coverage surrounding major international tournaments (e.g., the FIFA World Cup of 1982 and, to a lesser extent, the FIFA Confederations Cup), or surrounding their performances in the English Premier league, or very occasional coverage of players involved in other professional leagues. As a subordinated sporting code, with a generally low-key media profile, football has generated few athletes who could be said to be celebrities, and certainly very few who could be seen as celebrities at home in New Zealand. There are, however, two notable All White footballers who may qualify for a certain level of celebrity status. Oceania footballer of the century, Wynton Rufer, for example, is a highly decorated former professional who enjoyed a prolonged celebrity status in Germany. Another who could be ascribed a certain degree of celebrity status, albeit in the lower strata of world football stardom, is 2010 All Whites captain, Ryan Nelsen, who, at the time of writing (2011), had captained English Premier League football side Blackburn Rovers since 2007. In my experience, although both men are well recognized in New Zealand, they make relatively few appearances in the national media as compared to their peers from other New Zealand team sporting codes (e.g., rugby, netball, cricket, and rugby league) and the nation's elite Commonwealth or Olympic athletes.

SUMMARY

The foregoing reviews of literature, related to nationalism, masculinity and celebrity, have broadly outlined a range of academic research that precedes the analyses and discussions shortly to be presented within this thesis. A degree of contextualisation was provided, situating each topic in the New Zealand socio-cultural context, particularly with regards to their articulations in the sporting domain, and with respect to the limited research base surrounding men's football in New Zealand. As nationalism, masculinity, and celebrity are the overarching themes addressed within this thesis, there are some key points that bear reassertion, by way of summary, before moving forward. The following summary represents my own understandings of each concept, which, in turn, underpins all of the analysis to follow in this thesis.

A synthesis of academic perspectives on *nationalism* locates it as an ideological construct that is tied to modern human history and composed of a fluid mix of complex historical, social, cultural, political, and economic influences. Although nationalism revolves around collective purpose and strength, it can serve both the interests of legitimate power within society and, equally, resistance to legitimate power. Nationalism has been widely explored with regard to its sporting articulations, wherein examinations have identified sporting competition as a site for symbolic conflict, in political/ideological terms, between, or even within, nations. Football's global popularity and its historical status as the 'national' sport across much of the world, has resulted in it being a primary site for examinations of nationalism in the sporting context. In New Zealand, sport and nationalism have been surveyed in a range of literature, but these have largely focused upon sporting pursuits other than football. In particular, scholars have positioned rugby union and the All Blacks as the sporting code and team most consistently and profoundly tied to New Zealand nationalism.

With regards to *masculinity*, sociologists have suggested that masculinity is a social construct that is ascribed through social processes and is both plural and fluid in its form, the constitution of which varies considerably across time and place. In any given socio-cultural context, it is argued that there exist various configurations of masculinity that serve hegemonic roles and others that, as a direct result of hegemonic forces, come to hold a subordinated status. Sociologists have also noted that masculinities are primarily performative in nature; that is to say they are ascribed and expressed in the doing, as opposed to being innate or given. The sporting domain has proven to be a valuable site for examinations of masculinity. Team-based contact sports have been widely examined, such research having directed considerable focus toward the problematisation of hegemonic forms of sporting masculinity, particularly with regard to male aggression, violence, misogyny, and homophobia. In New Zealand, there is a body of masculinities research that places considerable focus upon hegemonic masculinity and its relationship with rugby union, a heavy contact, team sport that has longstanding links to New Zealand's mainstream masculine culture. Research that examines football masculinities in New Zealand is, at the time of writing, extremely limited, but has tended to identify football and footballers with subordinated masculine status.

Finally, scholarly examinations have identified *celebrity* as status held by certain individuals of note within given socio-cultural contexts. The media have been found to play a primary role in both the construction of celebrity status and its dissemination via increasingly

pervasive, multimedia networks with global reach. Particularly as of the latter part of the twentieth century, athletes have become some of the most prominent of all celebrities, increasingly able to obtain the same levels of celebrity status more traditionally associated with high-profile public figures such as film, stars, pop musicians and politicians. Sportspeople have, therefore, been subject to a range of scholarly examinations that have considered, amongst other things, the cultural politics and power systems underpinning their construction as celebrities (e.g., issues of race and gender), their considerable value as commodities, and their function as public role models for children and youth. In New Zealand there are relatively few homegrown sporting celebrities, with those who have been identified typically holding limited international appeal and being drawn from the ranks of male rugby players, Olympians or cricketers and, to a lesser extent, female Olympians or netballers. Celebrity status for New Zealand athletes has typically been ascribed primarily by the media, particularly via media representation of athletes involved in a small number of socio-culturally privileged sporting pursuits, as opposed to the promotion of athletes based purely on the merit of national/international achievement and acclaim, regardless of their chosen sporting pursuit.

In the following chapter (Chapter III) I address issues of methodology. I begin by outlining textual analysis as a general method, and then move to discuss the poststructuralist assumptions that underpin my own approach to textual analysis within this thesis. An overview of the content analysis method follows. The chapter concludes with a section that provides further information on the methodological design of this study; including how I developed the three themes that overarch this study (nationalism, masculinity, and celebrity), and specifics on the sampling and coding processes behind my content analysis.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

At the most fundamental methodological level, this thesis represents a mixed-methods analysis of sports media coverage. I engage in both textual analysis and content analysis, with the two utilized in an interactive fashion. Whilst my findings are ultimately presented from the interpretive perspective, relying heavily on textual analysis, much is owed to the descriptive statistical data I have generated through simultaneous content analysis, especially in terms of its provision of statistical support for my arguments. As such, rather than focusing upon just one of these common approaches to media analysis at the expense or exclusion of the other, I have instead attempted to add value to this study by applying them both in a complimentary manner; one that seeks to take advantage of their respective strengths. As Fairclough (2003) details, bringing quantitative and qualitative approaches together can afford a researcher opportunities to offset some of the potential weaknesses of each approach by employing strengths of the other. Content analysis, with its ubiquitous ‘number crunching’, for example, might lead to robust quantitative data that is ideal for broad, descriptive statistical analysis, but offers little insight for explanatory purposes. This lack of insight, however, can be addressed by bringing textual analysis into the methodological mix, embracing, as it does, the complexities and nuances of textual meanings.

In the remainder of this chapter, I establish more precisely the methodological positioning that underpins this thesis. Firstly, I present an overview of the textual analysis method. Following this, I outline the poststructuralist assumptions that have informed my particular approach to textual analysis. I then provide an overview of content analysis, wherein I address some common critiques and potentially problematic aspects surrounding its application. I conclude the chapter by addressing additional issues in the methodological design of this study; detailing my development of nationalism, masculinity, and celebrity as key themes, and providing details as to the sampling and coding was handled during content analysis.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

In the most general sense, textual analysis is a research method used to gather information about how human beings make sense of their world. It offers researchers insights into the ways in which members of various cultures, and the subcultures therein, construct meaning

from their experiences, produce understandings about the world in which they live, comprehend their own role and relative positioning within such worlds, and also, as a result of all of this, how one might come to develop a sense of identity (McKee, 2003). As McKee goes on to explain, textual analysis has great value as it allows us to not only see “...the variety of ways in which it is possible to interpret reality”, but also helps us to “...understand our own cultures better because we can start to see the limitations and advantages of our own sense-making practices” (p. 1).

Textual analysis has proven to be a popular method in many academic disciplines, including cultural studies, media studies, and sociology, to name but a few. Regarding the sporting domain, studies in sports sociology, in particular, have evidenced increasing use of the method in recent decades, a development that can be tied, in part, to both increased support for the conducting of qualitative media analysis and as a response to the ever-growing reach and influence of mass-media sports coverage, both of which contributed toward media-sport becoming a major emergent field of research in the latter decades of the twentieth century (Bernstein & Blain, 1990). In terms of media sport analysis, forms of textual analysis have been employed to examine many things including the representation of female athletes (e.g., Bruce, 2009; Duncan & Cooky, 2003; Jones, Murrell & Jackson 1999; Markula, 2009; Messner, Duncan, & Cooky, 2003; Pirinen 1997), masculinity (e.g., Cosgrove & Bruce, 2005; Messner et al., 2000), and sexuality (e.g., Nylund, 2004; Wachs & Dworkin, 1997).

When undertaking textual analysis, one is essentially making an educated guess as to the likely interpretations an audience *might* make, of a given ‘text’, within the boundaries of a given socio-cultural and historic context. As such, textual analysis is patently an interpretative effort, with robust analysis requiring of the interpreter a degree of situated expertise, culturally, historically and methodologically speaking (McKee, 2003). According to McKee, these elements are essential precursors for navigating, and negotiating, the often complex and difficult interpretive landscape. Familiarity with the relevant conventions of the text(s) under examination is also of importance if one is to be able to argue effectively towards the potential likelihood of particular interpretations over others (McKee, 2003). Before one attempts analysis of media-sport texts, therefore, it is crucial to first hold some understanding of their construction and consumption and, in addition, an appreciation of the range of semantic possibilities canonised within media sport as a genre or, put in simpler terms, what Fairclough refers to as “the routine and formulaic nature of much media output...” (1995, p .86).

A great deal of textual analysis, including my own, has been informed by Hall (1973) and his seminal encoding/decoding (E/D) model for the analysis of media discourses. Hall advanced that meaning is created through a negotiation between the producer of a given media text, and its readers (audiences), who are held to be active agents in the process as opposed to passive receivers. According to Hall (1997), cultural texts are encoded, by the producer, with preferred meanings that actively seek to encourage a reading (audience interpretation) congruent with the dominant institutional, political, ideological and cultural order. Readers, however, do not accept these messages wholesale but, rather, decode them in such a manner as to fit into one of three general forms that Hall (1973, 1997) referred to as either *dominant*, *negotiated* or *oppositional*.

As Schroder, Drotner, Kline and Murray (2003) explain it, in a *dominant* decoding, the audience accepts the preferred meaning(s) of the media text, which is most common when the audience lacks knowledge or experience which might contradict the text's meaning(s) and/or when the preferred meaning(s) resonate with their own opinions or ideologies. In the second form, a *negotiated* decoding, a given audience generally accepts the preferred meaning(s), but not in the absolute; this being the most typical form of audience decoding (Hall, 1994). Finally, the third form, *oppositional* decoding, involves the audience rejecting a given text's preferred meaning(s), typically occurring when the audience has knowledge or experience that contradicts the preferred meaning(s) and/or when the audience perceives that the preferred meaning(s) subordinate, marginalize or trivialize their own opinions, lifestyle choices, ideologies, etcetera.

The unit of analysis in an interpretive textual approach is of course the 'text' itself, an important concept to define at this juncture. So, just what is a text? Simply put "...whenever we produce an *interpretation* of something's *meaning* – a book, television programme, film, magazine, T-shirt or kilt, piece of furniture or ornament – we treat it as a text. A text is something that we make meaning from" (McKee, 2003, p. 4, emphasis in original). A text is therefore an interpretation of meaning produced in tangible form. We encounter, engage with and derive meaning from texts every day although we may seldom be conscious of this process. Examples of texts one might typically encounter, at least in the western world, might include a primetime television commercial, a big-budget Hollywood action film, a magazine cover featuring a celebrity, a military-themed video game, a daily national newspaper and a chart-topping pop song on FM radio. In this thesis, the texts under examination are all media sport articles, comprised variously of written text and/or images, all of which focused on the

FIFA 2010 World Cup and/or the All Whites World Cup campaign. All materials were produced by New Zealand-based media and sourced from four web-based news portals; namely, newspaper-based portals www.stuff.co.nz and www.nzherald.co.nz, and the websites of national television stations www.tvnz.co.nz and www.tv3.co.nz.

There are a number of variations of the textual analysis method, with important distinctions based largely upon the underpinning ontological and epistemological philosophies, and also in their various applications and instrumentations (Allen, 1992). As a comprehensive review of these variants is beyond the scope of this section, it suffices to say that the textual methodological tradition, primarily built upon the contributions of cultural and media studies scholars, is not monolithic. Like every researcher before me, I have adopted a particular variation of textual analysis as a means to best serve my own ends. In this case, my approach is informed primarily by poststructuralist assumptions.

Poststructuralist Textual Analysis

Through a poststructuralist lens, interpretations of reality are seen as inherently relative to the interpreter (Harrison, 2007; McKee, 2003) which, in terms of media analysis, means the focus of analysis shifts away from structuralist preoccupations with the production of texts, and towards the ways that *readers* (audiences) are likely to decode, or make sense of, a given text. Famously hailed as the ‘death of the author’ and ‘birth of the reader’ by French poststructuralist theorist, Roland Barthes (1973), this paradigm shift, emerging in the 1960s, holds as sacrosanct that all cultural texts (including those that inhabit the media sphere) are *polysemic*, which is to say they are comprised of multiple meanings (Allen, 2003). If one accepts this premise, as I have, it becomes impossible to say that anyone in particular is entirely correct in the way they come to interpret texts and, equally, we cannot justly claim that other views are wrong.

To further clarify this notion of *polysemy*, it may be beneficial to introduce the term cultural relativism at this point, which is to say that people from different cultures, and indeed the sub-cultures therein, experience and interpret their realities differently (McKee, 2003). As such, a given text may be interpreted, by various audiences, in various ways, all of which are potentially valid, at least within their own socio-cultural boundaries. Take, for example, a documentary critical of arranged marriages or child labour. In some cultural contexts, where it is commonly accepted social practice for children to work to provide for their families (e.g., Afghanistan) or for young women to marry husbands chosen by their families (e.g., India),

audiences might be likely to arrive at either a negotiated or oppositional reading of the documentary. Western audiences, however, are more likely to arrive at either dominant or negotiated decodings, given that the practices of child labour and arranged marriage would likely be perceived as illegal and/or immoral. Having said all of this, even when members of the same culture/subculture share textual encounters, a variety of interpretations might still emerge (McKee, 2003). Doubtless there are some Westerners who would make oppositional decodings regarding the hypothetical documentary I have just proposed and, likewise, Afghanis or Indians who would arrive at a dominant decoding. Ostensibly, while there may be certain commonalities and shared understandings evident within a given culture/subculture, these are, perhaps, not nearly as frequent or predictable as we might first conceive.

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to action these poststructuralist notions. I have tended to speak herein of potential realities, not reality, a deliberate attempt to stress plurality in my own textual interpretations and also to do justice to the notions of polysemy and cultural relativism I have just established. As such, I have not attempted to compare my various interpretations to any concrete notion of reality, factuality or truth. Instead, the interpretations provided herein are presented as being likely; based upon my own positioning as a well-informed interpreter drawing upon a base of established theory and methodological tools.

My focus on particular interpretations, as compelling as they may be, should not be taken as a denial of the potential for other, alternative, interpretations, for, as Barthes (1977) noted, one cannot possibly hope to perceive and understand all the ways in which a text might be interpreted by all people at a given geographic or historical locality. To do so would require omniscience, a characteristic that none of us possess.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis is a popular method for the analysis of media coverage, one that is well established in academic circles. In simple terms, content analysis is a quantitative approach that derives insight via categorizing and coding data in a systematic manner for the purposes of statistical analysis (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2005). Typical content analysis follows a relatively set progression from the development of hypotheses to be tested, locating the boundaries of the study, establishing the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings, conducting sampling of data, developing and testing an appropriate instrument(s) and subsequently applying the

instrument for statistical analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). The depth of content analysis varies greatly, with research in fields such as psychology and the physical sciences exemplifying complex quantitative analysis that is often impenetrable to all but the experts themselves. More typically, however, content analysis is widely utilized for the generation of relatively digestible descriptive statistics; the most typical being operations such as frequency, mean, median, mode, distribution and deviation (Weber, 1990).

With specific regards to the analysis of sports media, content analysis has been utilized to examine a range of issues including gender (e.g., Bruce, Hovden, & Markula, 2010; Christopherson, Janning, & McConnell, 2002; Kinnick, 1998; Messner, Duncan, & Jensen, 1993; Pedersen, 2002) disability (e.g., Golden, 2003; Hardin, Hardin, Lynn, & Walsdorf, 2001) and race/ethnicity (e.g., Bruce, 2004; Denham, Billings, & Halone, 2002; Sabo, Jansen, Tate, Carlisle-Duncan & Leggett, 1996). The typical application of the method has involved the sampling of newspaper, magazine and/or television media coverage, with web-based mediums (e.g., Jones, 2004; Kian, Mondello, & Vincent, 2009) and radio¹² less prominent. Content analysis has been proven particularly efficacious for sport media scholars in longitudinal studies of media representation issues, one prominent example being around gender, specifically the grossly inequitable coverage of female athletes, as compared to their male counterparts, affirmed by a range of content analysis, drawn from a variety of nations and across a number of decades (e.g., Brown, 1995; Crossman, Hyslop, & Guthrie, 1994; Fountaine & McGregor, 1999).

Despite the demonstrated utility and widespread popularity of content analysis, there remain critics of the approach. Common critiques often revolve around the construction and application of categories at the most fundamental level. Firstly, questions arise regarding the ‘face’ validity of “the investigators’ definitions of concepts and their definitions of the categories that measured them” (Weber, 1990, p. 18). At issue is whether or not an established category can reasonably be held to encompass that, and only that, which it is intended to. As such, there can be great difficulty in establishing robust, unconditional categories that withstand challenge. Weber notes that content analysis has, historically speaking, relied heavily on the establishment of this sort of ‘face’ validity, which, even when it remains unquestioned, still represents a “weak claim because it rests on a single variable” (p. 18).

¹² At the time of writing, I was unable to locate a sport-specific example of radio content analysis where radio was the key focus. This is not to say that they do not exist.

A second critique leveled at content analysis regards the way that, even with a robust set of categories in place, different researchers may still categorize the same sample in different ways (Riffe et al., 2005). These, typically small, variances in the way individuals might categorize a given sample, or a part of a sample, become increasingly significant whenever you have a large number of people attempting to perform classification and/or when classifications are being conducted within a poorly conceived taxonomy, and/or wherein there is a lack of guidelines and support in place. As such, even small inconsistencies in categorization, when magnified across broad or prolonged studies, may accumulate to compromise the integrity of a given study.

Addressing these issues of process, Lofland and Lofland (1995) detail that, ideally, categories must be discrete, unambiguous and exhaustive so as to avoid, wherever possible, creating gaps in the taxonomy that demand the construction of catchall categories to cope with awkward exceptions. This notwithstanding, I suggest that the use of catchall categorizations like “other” or “mixed” may be a necessary concession for coping with occasional, often unpredictable, matters of irreconcilable classification; which would explain their continued presence in many content analyses.

Whenever one devises a system of classifications, certain decisions are made; for example, how to best cater to the aims of the study or accommodate the practical realities of sampling and coding. My own approach has attempted to serve my purposes while balancing some of the aforementioned critiques. For the most part, I have built my taxonomy by looking to those I have seen to be effective in the work of others, and adapting these for my own purposes. While I have, in certain branches of categorization/coding, employed a “mixed” category to cope with occasions wherein lines of categorization were blurred, these were not heavily employed across the sample as a whole and were also utilized in such a way as to add value¹³. Finally, from the outset, I have conducted all of the classification myself without assistance, able therefore to be consistent in approaching the sample, or, at the least, as consistent as an ultimately fallible human being can be.

ON THE METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN OF THIS STUDY

As previously stated, this project is primarily a qualitative textual analysis, essentially an extended set of interpretations of media sport texts. There are no specific hypotheses or

¹³ My use of “mixed” categories is discussed further into this chapter (see pp. 44-45).

expected interpretations being tested, the analysis being approached primarily as an inductive exploration, not a deductive investigation. The boundaries of the study are also relatively clear-cut, its focus deliberately insular; specifically, textual interpretation within the New Zealand socio-cultural context, focused on sports media texts produced by local journalistic sources for the purposes of online consumption. As such, articles originating from sources outside of New Zealand were not considered¹⁴, nor were the potential interpretations that might be made by audiences outside of New Zealand.

My initial establishment of the overarching textual themes in the study (nationalism, masculinity and celebrity) was inductive in nature, involving thorough and repeated readings of the sample that left me increasingly sensitized to the common threads in coverage and, ultimately, able to extract the most substantive themes for further analysis. However, while a textual analysis project at its core, a good deal of guidance and empirical support has been provided by a descriptive content analysis that examined the same sample as the textual analysis, the two running in parallel throughout. The specifics of sampling, classification and coding procedures are therefore important considerations as they have, at times, played an important role in guiding my arrival at certain textual interpretations, or refining my positioning on others. The following sections outline pertinent details of that content analysis and provide some key statistical breakdowns of the sample in a descriptive mode.

CONTENT ANALYSIS: SAMPLING

The sample in this study involved 1,112 *items*, all of which are media texts explicitly regarding the All Whites 2010 FIFA World Cup campaign. A requirement that all items originated from within the New Zealand media sector was the qualifier for inclusion in the sample. Four articles produced by outside sources; namely, the Sydney Morning Herald newspaper (2), and international news agency Reuters (2), were not analyzed, despite being carried by two of the four New Zealand based web-news portals surveyed (www.stuff.co.nz and www.tvnz.co.nz).

Each *item* in the sample was defined as either an *article* (a) or an *image* (i). Images were further divided into two sub categories: (a) those that were embedded, as part of an article, with or without captions; and (b) those that were stand-alone images, presented in slideshow or gallery formats, with or without captions. For the purposes of this study, captions are

¹⁴ The sample contained four articles credited to overseas/international media sources: 2 from *Reuters* and 2 from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which were omitted from the study.

considered to serve the purpose of shaping the preferred meaning(s) of the image to which they are attached and are therefore taken as part of the image, not part of an article text, or an article in their own right, even though they are comprised of text.

The items were gathered, through a screen capturing process¹⁵, from four major New Zealand web portals that provide daily news content (www.tv3.co.nz, www.tvnz.co.nz, www.herald.co.nz and www.stuff.co.nz) during the 68-day period from Saturday 15 May, 2010 through to Wednesday 21 July, 2010. The sampling period encompassed not only the All Whites' participation at the FIFA 2010 World Cup finals tournament itself but their warm-up matches against Australia, Serbia, Slovenia and Chile, a range of pre-tournament build up, and post tournament coverage culminating with the All Whites' formal homecoming parade in Wellington. The sports news, football (soccer) news, where available, and headline news sections of these websites were all surveyed daily for relevant content with the bulk of items being drawn from the specialized sports sections of the websites. The sampling took place between 8pm-10pm each evening, so as to comprehensively review and capture the day's offerings in one pass and provide consistency across the sample time frame.

All four web portals were purposefully selected for the sampling. Both the Herald website, which primarily disseminates its own exclusive content, and the Stuff website, which produces original content but also functions as a news aggregator for a range of Fairfax NZ media outlets¹⁶, are heavily frequented online news portals in New Zealand (Minirank, 2011). The respective websites of TVNZ and TV3 (both are major New Zealand television companies) were selected as supplementary sources because both featured significant journalistic, photojournalistic and blog-based coverage. In addition to the original content produced all by four websites (each is a source in itself), there are ten additional sources credited across the sample; note that the material credited to all of these sources was still accessed through the same four foundational web portals. Specifically, this wider network of sources involved an additional five daily newspapers (Nelson Mail, The Press, Dominion Post, Marlborough Express and Waikato Times), two Sunday papers (Sunday Star-Times and Sunday News), two radio stations (Radio Live and Newstalk ZB) and the New Zealand Press Association (NZPA). Table 1 (below) details the distribution of the sampled articles/images.

¹⁵ See appendix 3 for details on the process and software involved.

¹⁶ All items accessed via the stuff.co.nz portal are to be considered Fairfax Group material (see Table 1).

Table 1: Distribution of Sampled Items by Source

MEDIA SOURCE (REF NUMBER)	SOURCE TYPE	PORTAL ACCESSED	ARTICLES (n)	EMBEDDED IMAGES (n)	GALLERY IMAGES (n)	ITEMS TOTAL (n)
NZ HERALD (1)	Daily Newspaper	HERALD.CO.NZ	177	169	15	361
STUFF (2)	News Website	STUFF.CO.NZ	152	148	14	314
TVNZ (3)	Television Station	TVNZ.CO.NZ	47	46	45	138
NZ PRESS ASSOCIATION (4)	News Agency	STUFF.CO.NZ	69	61	0	130
TV3 (5)	Television Station	TV3.CO.NZ	23	23	25	71
DOMINION POST (6)	Daily Newspaper	STUFF.CO.NZ	24	24	0	48
SUNDAY STAR TIMES (7)	Sunday Newspaper	STUFF.CO.NZ	12	9	0	21
THE PRESS (8)	Daily Newspaper	STUFF.CO.NZ	9	3	0	12
NEWTALK ZB (9)	Radio Station	TVNZ.CO.NZ	3	3	0	6
SUNDAY NEWS (10)	Sunday Newspaper	STUFF.CO.NZ	2	2	0	4
NELSON MAIL (11)	Daily Newspaper	STUFF.CO.NZ	1	1	0	2
RADIO LIVE (12)	Radio Station	TV3.CO.NZ	1	1	0	2
WAIKATO TIMES (13)	Daily Newspaper	STUFF.CO.NZ	1	1	0	2
MARLBOROUGH EXPRESS (14)	Daily Newspaper	STUFF.CO.NZ	1	0	0	1
TOTALS			522	491	99	1112

CONTENT ANALYSIS: CODING

After sampling was completed the items were coded for the purposes of descriptive statistical analysis¹⁷. The specific coding schemes applied to articles and images are detailed in the following passages.

Firstly, each article was first assigned a unique reference number (1-522), and then coded as to represent its respective media source from the 14 possibilities. Articles were also coded as to the point in the study timeline from which they originated; either pre-tournament (PT), group stage (GS), knock out rounds (KO) and after-tournament (AT). Table 2 (below) details the distribution of articles by their origin in the study timeline.

Table 2: Distribution of Articles by Origin in Study Timeline

SOURCE (REF NUMBER)	PT (n)	GS (n)	KO (n)	AT (n)	TOTAL ARTICLES (n)
NZ HERALD (1)	49	84	28	16	177
STUFF (2)	25	106	19	2	152
NZ PRESS ASSOCIATION (4)	21	36	7	5	69
TVNZ (3)	12	33	2	0	47
DOMINION POST (6)	10	5	4	5	24
TV3 (5)	8	13	2	0	23
SUNDAY STAR TIMES (7)	5	5	2	0	12
THE PRESS (8)	7	1	0	1	9
NEWSTALK ZB (9)	1	1	1	0	3
SUNDAY NEWS (10)	0	1	1	0	2
NELSON MAIL (11)	0	1	0	0	1
RADIO LIVE (12)	0	1	0	0	1
WAIKATO TIMES (13)	0	1	0	0	1
MARLBOROUGH EXPRESS (14)	0	1	0	0	1
TOTALS	138	289	66	29	522

¹⁷ See appendix 5 for details as to how these codes were subsequently embedded within the screen capture images (.jpg).

Articles were further coded as to their style or, in other words, the type of article they most resembled from eight options; match preview (MP), match review (MR), straight news (SN)¹⁸, background piece (BG), column (CL), blog (BL), score report (SR)¹⁹ and mixed style (MXS). Table 3 (below) details the distribution of articles by style.

Table 3: Distribution of Articles by Style

SOURCE (REF NUMBER)	MP (n)	MR (n)	SN (n)	BG (n)	CL (n)	BL (n)	SR (n)	MXS (n)	ARTICLES (n)
NZ HERALD (1)	22	26	12	45	29	24	0	19	177
STUFF (2)	30	15	4	59	17	14	0	13	152
NZ PRESS ASSOCIATION (4)	16	15	7	26	0	0	0	5	69
TVNZ (3)	7	16	0	9	8	6	0	1	47
DOMINION POST (6)	4	3	2	5	2	0	0	8	24
TV3 (5)	5	5	0	5	0	8	0	0	23
SUNDAY STAR TIMES (7)	2	1	0	4	4	0	0	1	12
THE PRESS (8)	2	3	2	1	0	0	0	1	9
NEWTALK ZB (9)	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
SUNDAY NEWS (10)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
NELSON MAIL (11)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
RADIO LIVE (12)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
WAIKATO TIMES (13)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
MARLBOROUGH EXPRESS (14)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTALS	89	87	28	156	61	52	0	48	522

¹⁸ “Straight news” (SN) refers to ‘*just-the-facts*’ style reporting on the All Whites and/or the FIFA World Cup that was free from commentary, analysis or opinion (e.g., articles on FIFA World Cup ticket sales, FIFA World Cup statistics and match records, and player/manager bonuses or contract fees).

¹⁹ The “score report” (SR) categorisation was prepared in anticipation of minimalistic *sidebar*-style reporting of All Whites matches by way of a match score result (e.g., the All Whites’ suffered a 2-1 defeat at the hands of Australia in their World Cup warm-up friendly played in Melbourne last night). As it eventuated, all of the sampled coverage regarding the All Whites matches was much more significant and, as such, this category was never employed.

Articles were also coded as to mark the primary focus of their coverage, or in other words, who/what they featured most prominently. The five options here were match coverage (MC), player coverage (PC), background coverage (BC), team coverage (TC) and mixed coverage (MXC). Table 4 (below) details the distribution of articles by their coverage focus.

Table 4: Distribution of Articles by Coverage Focus

SOURCE (REF NUMBER)	MC (n)	PC (n)	BC (n)	TC (n)	MXC (n)	ARTICLES (n)
NZ HERALD (1)	61	44	23	32	17	177
STUFF (2)	44	47	22	28	11	152
NZ PRESS ASSOCIATION (4)	25	25	10	6	3	69
TVNZ (3)	23	4	12	3	5	47
DOMINION POST (6)	5	6	3	6	4	24
TV3 (5)	13	1	6	3	0	23
SUNDAY STAR TIMES (7)	2	4	1	1	4	12
THE PRESS (8)	3	3	0	2	1	9
NEWTALK ZB (9)	1	1	1	0	0	3
SUNDAY NEWS (10)	0	1	0	0	1	2
NELSON MAIL (11)	0	0	1	0	0	1
RADIO LIVE (12)	1	0	0	0	0	1
WAIKATO TIMES (13)	0	0	1	0	0	1
MARLBOROUGH EXPRESS (14)	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTALS	178	137	82	79	46	522

The sampled articles were largely self-evident in regards to the ways in which they should be categorized in respect to style and coverage. I utilized mixed style (MXS) and mixed coverage (MXC) categories to cope with articles that proved difficult to reconcile to one category over another, but these were not employed simply as catchall categories. Instead, I denoted within the coding for the mixed categorizations both the primary style or coverage

focus, and any supplemental styles or coverage foci. For example, some articles mid-tournament began in the style of a match review (of a prior All Whites match) and progressed into a match preview (of an upcoming All Whites match). In such cases, I have categorized the article as being of *mixed style* but its coding further reflects that the article was primarily a match review, evidencing, in a supplemental context, a significant amount of match preview. The coding for such article therefore denoted its mixed style (MXS), but also the fact that it led with a match review (MR) and was supplemented by match preview (MP). Thus, the final coding attached to such articles became (MXS_MR_MP).

The last element specific to the coding of the articles identifies those individuals from within the All Whites squad, including the support and coaching staff, *featured* within the text. Here there were a total of 34 possibilities (24 players, four coaching staff and six support staff)²⁰. Care was taken not to simply count every squad member named in a text, as some texts noted, in ‘quick-fire’ descriptive style, many, most or all of the squad. For example, one article (a552) listed the entire All Whites starting lineup for the World Cup warm-up match against Australia. However, only one of these players (Ryan Nelsen) is even mentioned in the rest of the article, which actually centers primarily upon the thoughts of All Whites coach Ricki Herbert. Similarly, another article (a45) highlighted key moments from the All Whites World Cup warm-up match against Serbia, mentioning seven All Whites players on no less than 16 separate occasions, none of whom were featured beyond passing mentions of their names; e.g., “All Whites substitute, Jeremy Brockie just missed the left hand post after being put through by Fallon and Reid” (a45, para. 12). As such, merely counting the frequency with which an individual’s name appears is ultimately a misleading metric; it simply does not reliably indicate that the person is actually being discussed or focused upon in any depth. In an effort to develop a more valid measure for determining who was substantively focused upon, as opposed to a simple frequency of naming, I registered a squad member as *featured* in a text whenever coverage (a) probed into a squad member’s professional career and/or background and/or private life, (b) directly quoted a squad member, (c) subjected a squad member to critique/analysis, or (d) evidenced substantial descriptive commentary regarding a squad member. In essence then, squad members only registered as being *featured* in an article when coverage of that squad member was sufficient to fall into one or more of these

²⁰ See appendix 4 for the full 2010 All Whites World Cup squad list.

categories. Table 5 (below) details the frequency with which all 34 of the 2010 All Whites squad members²¹ were featured in articles.

Table 5: All Whites Squad Members by Frequency of Article Focus

NAME (ID CODE)	ARTICLES FEATURED (n)	NAME (ID CODE)	ARTICLES FEATURED (n)
Ricki Herbert (RH)	153	Jeremy Brockie (JB)	13
Ryan Nelsen (RN)	122	Aaron Clapham (AC)	11
Rory Fallon (RF)	70	Glen Moss (GM)	10
Winston Reid (WR)	68	Andy Baron (AB)	7
Mark Paston (MP)	54	James Bannatyne (JB2)	5
Shane Smeltz (SS)	42	Cole Peverley (CP)	5
Simon Elliott (SE)	38	Michael McGlinchey (MM)	3
Tim Brown (TB)	34	David Mulligan (DM)	3
Tommy Smith (TS)	28	Celeste Geertsema (CG2)	2
Leo Bertos (LB)	27	Andrew Boyens (AB2)	1
Ivan Vicelich (IV)	26	Phil Warbrick (PW)	1
Chris Killen (CK)	21	Raul Blanco (RB)	0
Chris Wood (CW)	21	Clint Gosling (CG)	0
Ben Sigmund (BS)	20	Wade Irvine (WI)	0
Jeremy Christie (JC)	17	Roland Jeffery (RJ)	0
Tony Lochhead (TL)	17	Kenny McMillan (KM)	0
Brian Turner (BR) *	14	Jamie Scott (JS)	0
		TOTAL	833

²¹ Note: there are 833 instances of squad members being substantively featured, this does not equate to the total number of articles (n=522) because many articles featured multiple individuals.

In regards to the sample's images, these were also coded with unique reference numbers (1-590) and as to their respective sources. Further to this, images were also categorized as to the style of the image; with the eight variants being sports action (SA), sports related in a game context (SRG), sports related in a training context (SRT), sports related in all other contexts (SRO), candid (CD), headshot (HD), posed (PD) and neutral (NT). Table 6 (below) details the distribution of image style across the sample.

Table 6: Distribution of Images by Style

SOURCE (REF NUMBER)	SA (n)	SRG (n)	SRT (n)	SRO (n)	CD (n)	HD (n)	PD (n)	NT (n)	TOTAL (n)
NZ HERALD (1)	52	63	20	17	19	2	9	2	184
STUFF (2)	36	34	33	19	21	1	15	3	162
TVNZ (3)	18	47	3	10	6	0	1	6	91
NZ PRESS ASSOCIATION (4)	11	34	1	5	6	1	2	1	61
TV3 (5)	17	22	1	0	2	3	2	1	48
DOMINION POST (6)	6	2	3	8	1	0	4	0	24
SUNDAY STAR TIMES (7)	2	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	9
NEWTALK ZB (9)	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
THE PRESS (8)	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
SUNDAY NEWS (10)	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
NELSON MAIL (11)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
RADIO LIVE (12)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
WAIKATO TIMES (13)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MARLBOROUGH EXPRESS (14)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	145	209	65	60	56	7	35	13	590

In general, the above classifications regarding image style represent an adaptation of similar approaches to the classification of sports photographs (e.g., Duncan, 1990). Perhaps the most notable addition is my establishment of a *candid* categorization, which includes images of individuals outside of sporting contexts, where they might be reasonably assumed to be either unaware or unconcerned about the presence of cameras and/or the likelihood of being photographed. I found the introduction of this category necessary due to the continued presence of ‘behind the scenes’ coverage throughout the sample, including intimate photos taken by members of the All Whites squad themselves via their personal phones/camera devices (see Figure 1: below).



Figure 1: (i14), Candid photo of All Whites relaxing in an airport lounge.

The focus of each image was also coded, with a total of nine options available. The first two options identify members of the All Whites squad as the image focus, divided here into either a collective form involving four or more All Whites personnel (TM, indicating a team/collective focus), or an individualized form with groupings of three or less (AW, indicating an individual focus). Coding options three and four identify either opposing teams (OT) or opposing personnel (OP) as the image focus. Here, *opposition* is defined as those teams the All Whites played in direct competition during the sample period, and the same rules apply as for differentiating between All Whites collectivized or individualized image focus. Options five, six, and seven encompassed images with a demonstrated focus upon fans. Option five recognized All Whites Fans (NZFN) as the image focus, where they were clearly identifiable via clothing, scarves and flags, etcetera. Option six encompassed football

fans in general (FN), including both unidentified fans and those fans evidently linked to teams not opposing the All Whites during the sampled period. Option seven encompassed opposing fans (OFN) who supported teams playing the All Whites where identifiable as such via clothing, scarves, and flags, etcetera. Option eight identified friends/family of All Whites squad members (FF) as the image focus, where identifiable as such and not as generic All Whites fans. Finally, coding option nine was reserved for images focusing on miscellany (XT), involving equipment, stadia, food, vehicles, landscape, security staff, and wildlife, etcetera. Table 7 (below) details the distribution of image focus across the sample²².

Table 7: Distribution of Images by Focus

SOURCE (REF NUMBER)	AW (n)	TM (n)	OT (n)	OP (n)	NZFN (n)	FN (n)	OFN (n)	FF (n)	XT (n)	TOTAL FOCI
NZ HERALD (1)	130	14	10	19	10	2	3	1	13	202
STUFF (2)	121	8	5	17	8	1	0	5	10	175
TVNZ (3)	89	5	0	4	6	4	2	0	8	118
NZ PRESS ASSOCIATION (4)	54	8	1	7	4	0	0	0	2	76
TV3 (5)	52	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	62
DOMINION POST (6)	22	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	33
SUNDAY STAR TIMES (7)	10	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	13
NEWTALK ZB (9)	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
THE PRESS (8)	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
SUNDAY NEWS (10)	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
NELSON MAIL (11)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
RADIO LIVE (12)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
WAIKATO TIMES (13)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
MARLBOROUGH EXPRESS (14)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	490	40	17	52	35	8	6	8	41	697

²² Note: There are 697 instances of image focus, which does not equate to the total number of images sampled (n=590). This is because some (AW) images featured multiple All Whites.

Finally, images found to focus on All Whites squad members in individualized form (AW) were further coded as to reflect the specific, identifiable All Whites featured therein. Table 8 (below) details the entire All Whites 2010 World Cup Squad by frequency of images in which they featured.

Table 8: All Whites Squad Members by Images Featured

NAME (ID CODE)	IMAGES FEATURED (n)	NAME (ID CODE)	IMAGES FEATURED (n)
Ryan Nelsen (RN)	90	Aaron Clapham (AC)	6
Winston Reid (WR)	62	Clint Gosling (CG)	6
Ricki Herbert (RH)	50	Jeremy Christie (JC)	5
Shane Smeltz (SS)	40	James Bannatyne (JB2)	4
Rory Fallon (RF)	39	Glen Moss (GM)	4
Mark Paston (MP)	28	David Mulligan (DM)	3
Ivan Vicelich (IV)	28	Andrew Boyens (AB2)	2
Simon Elliott (SE)	20	Jeremy Brockie (JB)	2
Chris Wood (CW)	16	Michael McGlinchey (MM)	2
Tim Brown (TB)	15	Raul Blanco (RB)	1
Ben Sigmund (BS)	14	Celeste Geertsema (CG2)	1
Leo Bertos (LB)	13	Wade Irvine (WI)	0
Chris Killen (CK)	9	Roland Jeffery (RJ)	0
Tommy Smith (TS)	9	Kenny McMillan (KM)	0
Tony Lochhead (TL)	8	Cole Peverley (CP)	0
Brian Turner (BR)	7	Jamie Scott (JS)	0
Andy Baron (AB)	6	Phil Warbrick (PW)	0
		TOTAL	490

There is one final methodological point to note. In the findings chapters that follow, citations of the sampled articles and images appear in a format inconsistent with the APA²³ referencing style this thesis otherwise employs. Specifically, citations of articles appear within brackets, in the format (aX), wherein the “a” indicates the citation of an article and “X” is the unique identifying number attached to the article during coding²⁴ (e.g., a510). Likewise, citations of images appear in the format (iX), wherein “i” indicates the citation of an image and “X” is the unique identifying number attached to the image during coding²⁵ (e.g., i14). The rationale behind this is threefold. Firstly, it streamlines the process of citing long lists of exemplary articles or images in-text, thereby conserving valuable space. Secondly, it provides greater ease of use for readers, who can quickly locate the full particulars of the article(s) and/or image(s) cited by referring to appendices 1 and 2 of this thesis²⁶ (wherein all cited articles and images, respectively, are detailed in ascending numerical order). Finally, due to the screenshot method employed in sampling the articles and images²⁷, there is at times insufficient information available to cite articles and images in a traditional APA style (e.g., author/source and/or date).

In the following three chapters I present my findings with regard to each of the themes overarching this thesis; nationalism, masculinity, and celebrity. I begin, in no implied order of import, with nationalism. The thesis then concludes with a synthesis of my findings, followed by a brief discussion regarding the potential implications for football stakeholders in New Zealand and suggestions for further research.

²³ APA = American Psychological Association.

²⁴ See p. 42.

²⁵ See p. 47.

²⁶ See pp. 126-123.

²⁷ See appendix 3.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS: NATIONALISM

In this chapter I argue that the All Whites, as individuals and as a collective, were subject to a range of representations that, both actively and passively, in explicit and in implied fashions, linked players to New Zealand national identity. I argue that audiences self-identifying as New Zealanders were encouraged by media discourses surrounding the 2010 All Whites to interpret the team as a group of authentic New Zealanders with profound links to the nation, its culture and way of life.

This chapter begins with a brief reestablishment of the notion of nationalism employed within this thesis, then further locates this with particular regards to sport/football in New Zealand. An analysis follows, surveying two key thematic threads evident within the sampled media coverage, both of which are tied to considerations of New Zealand nationalism. Firstly, I examine a range of *patriotising discourses* I have identified in coverage surrounding the 2010 All Whites. Secondly, I evaluate the use of international coverage regarding the All Whites, reproduced piecemeal within the sampled national media texts, finding here an alignment with a core tenet of New Zealand nationalism, that of the *underdog*, which has a history of prominence at the nexus of New Zealand nationalism and media-sport (see Phillips, 1996: Smith, 2004). The chapter concludes with a discussion section that further considers the preferred meanings offered by the media texts surrounding the 2010 All Whites squad, particularly in contrast to mainstream audience perceptions regarding the questionable national affiliations of the comparable 1982 All Whites World Cup squad (see Keane, 2001). Both of these representational themes are advanced as distinct *media discourses*, wherein audiences were invited, via mediated representation, to engage in indirect, largely introspective, conversations (Talbot, 2007) regarding, in this case, New Zealand nationalism and its core ideologies.

As I elucidated in the literature review, this thesis holds nationalism to be a complex ideological construct that encourages members of a given nation (citizens) to adopt a collective identity, purpose and sense of belonging (Giddens, 1981). Largely a construct of modern history, the exact composition of a given nationalistic ideology is relative to its time (chronological place in history) and place (the socio-cultural context), being predicated therein upon a range of potentially fluid influences (Anderson, 1991). Nationalistic ideology

promotes collectivism, but has been appropriated to drive a range of social agendas and partisan politicking (Giddens, 1981). Sport has proven to be a primary site of nationalism, in both its construction, dissemination and its critique. Nationalism's links to sport have been widely examined, with international sporting fixtures and tournaments and national representative teams, in particular, being established as a primary site for the, often flamboyant and at times jingoistic, expression of nationalistic ideologies (Bairner, 2001). In New Zealand sport has been linked to nationalism primarily through examination of rugby union, and the All Blacks in particular (Phillips, 1996). To date, there has been little consideration of the role that football plays with regards to New Zealand nationalism. New Zealand's representative men's football side, the All Whites, have traditionally been linked to the game's English roots, and expatriate English communities within New Zealand (Keane, 2001). This positioning has historically located the code, its stakeholders and the athletes themselves, beyond the boundaries of mainstream nationalism.

However, in 2010 a shift in national interest in the All Whites and media sport consumption patterns appeared evident. This can be seen in (amongst other things) the television ratings, the All Whites' public receptions at airports, and particularly in the formal homecoming parade held for the team in the New Zealand capital, Wellington. For example, Television New Zealand (TVNZ), via its flagship channel TV1, provided 44 hours of free-to-air coverage of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This programming was estimated to reach 2,805,880 viewer units or, in other words, 70.0% of the potential audience of New Zealanders five years or older (Television New Zealand, 2010), ranking it 8th out of over 300 programming options TVNZ offered audiences in the 2010 year²⁸. The only TVNZ programmes to enjoy greater audience reach in this period were daily/weekly news and current affairs shows (e.g., TV1's nightly *ONE News at 6*, and weekend current affairs show *Sunday*) the nation's longest-running, nightly soap opera *Shortland Street*, and the perennial weekly rural documentary *Country Calendar*. TVNZ itself noted that FIFA 2010 World Cup coverage was one of "A number of the key properties which drove performance on TV ONE" (TVNZ, 2010, p. 6). Clearly then, New Zealand television audiences had consumed football coverage in considerable quantities during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, but it is rather difficult to gauge exactly how much of this audience can be tied specifically to coverage of the All Whites' three world cup matches given that no specific audience figures are available for viewership of specific broadcasts. However, there was a strong suggestion of large audiences for the All

²⁸ As detailed in TVNZ's annual report: 2010 (TVNZ, 2010).

Whites' matches, as noted in the texts surveyed within this study. For example, "for a couple of hours early this morning, the lights and heaters were on across the length of New Zealand" (a435, para. 1). And also,

When I dragged myself out of bed at 2:30am to put the kettle on and watch the game, I peered out into the gloom and saw living room lights on up and down the street. The whole country had got up, or stayed up, to watch. (a429, para. 2)

National investment and interest in the All Whites' team itself was keenly evidenced upon the public homecoming of the All Whites' small contingent of nationally-based personnel. Ben Sigmund, Ivan Vicelich, and Brian Turner, for example, were greeted upon arrival at Auckland airport by "hundreds of cheering fans, some wearing All Whites scarves and carrying banners..." (a481, para. 10; see Figures 2 and 3 below). Sigmund went on to fly to Wellington, where he was "immediately recognized" by his fellow travellers, prompting a spontaneous "round of applause" (a481, para. 7).



Figure 2: (i583), Ben Sigmund and Ivan Vicelich are greeted by fans at Auckland airport.



Figure 3: (i586), Ivan Vicelich takes questions from the media at Auckland airport.

Further, an estimated 4000 fans participated in a post-tournament meet-and-greet session involving the Wellington Phoenix, Coach Herbert and All Whites Bertos, Paston, Brown, and Sigmund (a510). Most emphatically of all, there was an official homecoming parade for the All Whites held in the national capital, Wellington (see Figures 4 and 5 below), where it was proposed in one article that “up to 40,000 football *converts* are expected to line Wellington footpaths to celebrate their All Whites heroes...” (a456, para. 4, emphasis added). At the parade, New Zealand Prime Minister, John Key, gave a speech wherein he expressed public interest and investment in the team’s World Cup campaign (see Figure 4 below). Key was quoted as stating,

On behalf of the people of New Zealand, thank you for putting us on the international stage, making us rub our eyes at two in the morning as we watched those TV sets and going ‘way to go All Whites, you’re the champs’ (a512, para. 19)



Figure 4: John Key speaks to assembled thousands at the homecoming parade in Wellington (Kitchener, 2010a).



Figure 5: The All Whites greet fans at the homecoming parade in Wellington (Kitchener, 2010b).

Finally, a marked national investment in the team was well summarized in the words of one parade attendee, quoted as stating “The fact that they even got a parade even without winning the tournament goes to show how much of an impact they had on the nation” (a512, para. 8).

“AS KIWI AS”: PATRIOTISING THE 2010 ALL WHITES

Media coverage appeared to patriotise the All Whites (as players individually, and as a collective) by building alignments to core elements of traditional, mainstream New Zealand national identity. Chronologically speaking, the bulk of these patriotising instances were evidenced within the pre-tournament phase of the sample. For audiences, pre-tournament coverage sets the stage for the action to come. It informs audiences as to who has been selected for a squad, who these individuals are and where they have come from, who is likely/not likely to be selected to play, and which players will be likely to play significant roles, and often manifests in a range of familiar sporting narratives and archetypes such as the rise the *young gun*, the return of the *national hero*, the struggles of the *journeyman* athlete, etcetera (Andrews, 2005). As such, the establishment of players' nationalistic ties is a common element in the background stories and player profiling prominent in media build-up to major sporting fixtures, events and tournaments.

The extent to which members of the All Whites playing squad were subjected to patriotising coverage varied greatly across the sample. Several players were strongly and repeatedly linked to their New Zealand roots (the most prominent being Ryan Nelsen, Winston Reid, Rory Fallon and Ben Sigmund). All four received significant coverage in the sample, and a significant portion of this was read as establishing nationalistic ties (explicitly or implicitly). At the other end of the scale, reserve goalkeeper, Glenn Moss, second-choice defenders Andrew Boyens and Tony Lochhead, and non-playing vice-captain Tim Brown were not represented with regard to nationalistic ties. However, it should be noted that all of these players, except Brown (whose coverage focused almost entirely on his struggle with a shoulder injury), were seldom brought into focus at all.

For the most part, affiliations between New Zealand as a nation and the All Whites players took the form of what appeared to be explicit constructions. I have dubbed these as attempts to *patriotise* players, by which I mean individuals being represented as bona fide New Zealanders, and not merely as 'ring-ins' or imposters who represent New Zealand only according to the letter of FIFA regulations²⁹. As such, the texts, as a whole, went well beyond merely establishing that players met FIFA's official regulatory determinants (e.g., passports, citizenship, lineage) required to represent New Zealand in football, as all players must in order to be selected but, rather, delved much more deeply into what might be considered

²⁹ A common critique that surrounded the 1982 All Whites, discussed further into this chapter (see p. 70).

insider appreciations of New Zealand national identity (e.g., geography, Maori and Kiwiana culture). This patriotising of players occurred in both overt and implied forms, identified primarily within the articles rather than images.

Geography

The most overt, and ostensibly tangible, links between All Whites players and New Zealand national identity involved coverage that established a given player's place of birth, and brought focus to his family history and personal formative ties to New Zealand and its geography in particular. For instance, team captain and veteran defender, Ryan Nelsen, was subject to a range of coverage that detailed his family and footballing roots in the city of Christchurch and the wider Canterbury region (e.g., a8, a10, a11, a88, a156). Nelsen was identified as being a part of "a famous football family in Christchurch" (a155, para. 4), and linked to former New Zealand football association chairman, Bob Smith (his late grandfather). Coverage also repeatedly informed the reader that striker, Chris Wood, hails from the Waikato region (e.g., a209, a376, a383), where his proud parents, "Waikato couple" Julie and Grant Wood have long been based in the town of Cambridge (a361, para. 2). Coverage was similar in approach for defender, Ben Sigmund, who was repeatedly labelled as the "...Canterbury lad" (a124, para.3; a367, para. 13), and Winston Reid (e.g., a191, a228, a482) dubbed "The lad from Takapuna" (a211, para. 2), whose father "...lives in Papakura..." and family "...live around Auckland" (a16, para. 12)³⁰.

This form of coverage encourages audiences to focus upon the documented history of a player, as an individual who has, evidently, lived and developed within the boundaries of recognisable New Zealand geography (e.g., regions, towns and cities) and respective social networks and institutions therein (e.g., familial, schooling, sporting clubs). While the media's background coverage primarily served to introduce New Zealand audiences to their representative football athletes, I argue that these sorts of assertions seem likely to have also established/enhanced the authenticity of players' ties to the nation.

Maori Heritage

The establishment of explicit ties to New Zealand identity was also noted in coverage that drew links between certain players and Maori/tribal affiliation. For example, striker Rory Fallon, was tied firmly to New Zealand national identity via the establishment that his mother

³⁰ Both Takapuna and Papakura are suburbs of Auckland.

is Maori and via discussion of his connections with the Ngati Porou iwi³¹ (e.g., a203, a368, a382). Fallon is quoted as stating that his Maori heritage is “a massive part” of his identity (a382, para. 3; see Figure 6 below). Defender Winston Reid is similarly profiled with regards to his Maori heritage (e.g., a16, a187, a190, a191, a197, a203, a211), with one headline declaring that “Reid carries Maori cause” (a16). It was also noted that “Midfielder Jeremy Christie’s whanau³² are from Northland” (a203, para. 7). Fallon, Reid, Christie, and Leo Bertos together formed a quartet of players frequently tied to Maori heritage in the sample, prompting one headline to quip “Here come the not-so-All Whites” (a203).



Figure 6: (i397), Rory Fallon performs a *hongi* (traditional Maori greeting) with Phil Pickering-Parker (NZF manager of Maori Football).

These explicit ties to Maoridom are likely to be important in establishing a given player’s authenticity in the eyes of New Zealand audiences. Although Maori culture is certainly not the dominant influence in New Zealand society at large³³, there remains widespread public familiarity with Maori cultural artefacts, language, traditions and an acceptance of Maori as the indigenous people of New Zealand. Those individuals tied specifically to Maoridom across the sample, especially as it occurred in repeated and, on occasion, prolonged fashion, are therefore linked by proxy to a certain level of authenticity as New Zealanders due to

³¹ A Maori tribal grouping in the eastern coast of New Zealand’s North Island.

³² “Whanau” is a Maori term for immediate family group.

³³ Most would rightly point to Europeans (Pakeha) as the cultural centre of modern New Zealand (see Phillips, 1996).

longstanding connections between Maori culture and New Zealand identity at large (King, 2003).

Player Expressions of National Pride and Affiliation

Nationalistic identifications of an overt nature also appeared in a textual focus on quoting players expressing overt nationalistic sentiment or, alternatively, via words or images of players engaged in nationalistic displays. Common ground here included players speaking about their pride in representing the nation, their elation at being selected to represent the nation and the honour it carries, their desires to perform well under the national banner and make the nation proud of their efforts, a longing to move New Zealand football to a new level of success, and ruminations about the fulfilment of childhood dreams of becoming an All White and donning the uniform. Both mainstream Pakeha and Maori aspects of New Zealand nationalism appeared here. By way of example, defender and team Captain Ryan Nelsen, one journalist wrote, is renowned for the fact that he “grabs the fern on his shirt and belts out the national anthem”; his pride in representing the nation was established, by the journalist, as being of an uncommon intensity (a155, para. 3). Further, when the All Whites were narrowly edged out of the tournament after the final group game draw with Paraguay, a dejected Nelsen was quoted as stating “We really wanted to do it for the country and we feel like we’re so close yet so far and it’s just so disappointing” (a436, para. 5). The article goes on to quote him thanking the people of New Zealand for their support and then apologising to the fans, “...so sorry that we didn’t get through, that we couldn’t get there for you” (a436: para. 9). In another article, winger Leo Bertos declared “I don’t know if you could hear me on the TV. I was blaring out the anthem. I always do. It would be nice if we could do it in Maori as well, to sing the full anthem” (a254, para. 2). Bertos herein proclaimed national pride and a personal connection to Maori culture. Also, defender Winston Reid, who could have declared his senior football allegiance to Denmark, a nation for which he made 16 appearances in age-level internationals, was represented as feeling, due primarily to his Maori roots, that he needed to play for the All Whites, and quoted as stating “I felt I was more a Kiwi... my mum is Kiwi and my dad is Kiwi. I’m more a New Zealander than a Danish person” (a16, para. 22).

Perhaps the most explicit example of overt nationalistic sentiments involved a pre-tournament article entirely devoted to establishing debutante defender Tommy Smith’s credibility as a Kiwi. The article was ingenuously headlined, “I’m Kiwi as, says mystery All

White” (a5). Smith, it detailed, was originally born in Macclesfield, England and holds dual citizenship, having represented England at age-group level and subsequently switching his allegiance to New Zealand at full international level prior to the World Cup. Smith was quoted as stating, “I’m so proud to represent New Zealand...” and, further, “I am determined to do New Zealand, myself and Ipswich (his English club) proud” (a5, para. 12). Smith, having lived, played football, and engaged in youth development in both England and New Zealand, holds multiple allegiances (e.g., to the All Whites, to New Zealand, and to his English Club, Ipswich). The following photograph (see Figure 7 below) appeared atop the article, in which a smiling Smith proudly raises an All Whites supporter’s scarf with its prominent black and silver heraldry (national colours) and the silver fern (a symbol strongly tied to New Zealand national identity).



Figure 7: (i84), Tommy Smith declares his allegiance to New Zealand.

While overt declarations and demonstrations of national allegiance/national pride may have influenced audience interpretations as to a given player’s authenticity as a Kiwi, I argue that these alignments seem likely to be less persuasive than the aforementioned nationalistic ties established via player links to New Zealand’s geography, personal histories and Maori heritage. In essence, when players make self-determinations as to their affiliation to the New Zealand nation, heartfelt as these may be, such assertions arise from a subjective base, and exit, therefore, as self-determinations informed by the represented individual’s particular sense of selfhood and understandings of what it means to be a New Zealander. Here, there

seems significant potential for New Zealand audiences, from their own subjective take on New Zealand identity, to challenge or reject a player's claims of affiliation, either in part or whole. Historically, this was evident in mainstream opinion surrounding the questionable national affiliations of the 1982 All Whites, wherein no amount of anthem singing or flag waving or hand-on-heart clutching of the silver fern could eschew suspicions regarding the national affiliations of the team, primarily due to many of the team's players, and both coaches, being born in England (Keane, 2001).

Implicit Patriotising Coverage: Kiwiana

Across the sample, nationalistic associations were also identified in implied forms. These appeared to be largely unintentional by-products of media coverage surrounding the All Whites, as opposed to the more deliberate forms, aforementioned, that directly established links between the team, its players and mainstream conceptions of New Zealand nationalism. Implied instances were less frequent in the sample or, more accurately, were perceived less frequently by myself given that they lacked obvious framing of their nationalistic connotations and were therefore more difficult to detect. Thematically, the superimposition of elements drawn from New Zealand's traditional popular culture (Kiwiana) provided the most prominent examples wherein the All Whites representation was found to be embedded with links to New Zealand nationalism. Kiwiana, as Bell (2004) explains, refers to a range of cultural artefacts that form a popular (largely Pakeha) mythology, a national kitsch tied strongly to cultural conservatism and nostalgia. Iconic examples of Kiwiana include the gumboot, the jandal, the sausage sizzle, pavlova, the buzzy bee toy, meat pies, number eight fencing wire, the Edmonds cookbook, Lemon and Paeroa soft drink (L&P), the All Blacks rugby union team, certain pieces of music (e.g., God Defend New Zealand, the official national anthem) and appropriations from Maori culture, such as tiki, the haka, the silver fern (ponga), koru patterns, paua shells and songs such as the popular hit *poi e* and folk song *po kare kare ana*. To refer back to Anderson (1983) and the notion that we live in imagined communities perpetuated by constant communications, Kiwiana can be seen as part of the communicative glue, binding together the networks of disparate people that form the nation of New Zealand and serving to maintain its imagined cohesion. In the sampled texts, the songs of iconic Kiwi musician, Dave Dobbyn, discussion of an All Whites haka and numerous links drawn to New Zealand's culturally ubiquitous rugby union team, the All Blacks, served as the most notable means by which the All Whites were implicitly aligned with New Zealand national identity via Kiwiana culture.

Dave Dobbyn's music was reported to play an important role in team warm-ups, bonding sessions, and as a comforting reminder of home (see Figure 8 below); it was a mainstay in team changing rooms, and as a sing-along track at team celebrations and on bus trips (e.g., a59, a222, a254, a410, a429). Dobbyn's popular song *slice of heaven* is of particular note here, elected as the "team song" (a222, para.13) with Leo Bertos, Ben Sigmund, Rory Fallon and Tim Brown all noting the song's affective impact upon the players and its motivational role in the All Whites camp at large. Vice captain, Tim Brown, summed up its import in stating, "If there is one man to thank for our good form at the World Cup it is surely Dave Dobbyn. His anthems have been the soundtrack to our tournament" (a410, para. 1)³⁴.



Figure 8: (i398), Iconic Kiwi Musician, Dave Dobbyn, provided the soundtrack for the All Whites 2010 World Cup campaign.

All Whites Ryan Nelsen, Winston Reid and Leo Bertos were quoted with regards to the likelihood and/or appropriateness of the All Whites performing a haka at the FIFA World Cup 2010 or in the future (e.g., a157, a412, a469). The haka, a traditional form of Maori dance appropriated into mainstream New Zealand cultural practice, has long been associated with New Zealand national identity, particularly within sporting culture. In rugby union, it

³⁴ Dobbyn's musical links to Kiwiana are longstanding. His songs *slice of heaven* and *oughta be in love* both featured in the classic animated 1986 film *Footrot Flats: The Dog's Tale*, an iconic piece of cinematic Kiwiana. He also wrote the songs *Bliss* (1980) and *Loyal* (1988) both of which are enduring songs in New Zealand's popular culture. *Loyal* was also adopted in New Zealand's 2003 America's Cup defence.

has long served as a ‘war dance’ of sorts³⁵, issued as a pre-match challenge to opponents and a particular haka variation known as *ka mate* has been famously employed by the All Blacks since the early 20th century. Bertos (of Maori heritage) is quoted as relaying that the 2010 All Whites team, as part of an ongoing collective discussion, “had talked about introducing New Zealand’s most famous cultural asset (the haka) to the World Cup, but the timing was not right” (a469, para. 3). According to Bertos, however, an All Whites haka would likely happen sooner rather than later (a469), with Reid more specifically quoted as suggesting that “a potential international on home soil might be the right moment to break that new ground” (a469, para. 8). Nelsen, when asked by international journalists about the prospect of an All Whites haka, dismissed the idea by way of humour, and was quoted as retorting “Skinny white guys doing the haka? That would be very intimidating” (a157, para. 6).

Audiences encountering these texts are highly likely to recognize the players, and by proxy the squad as a whole, as being authentic New Zealanders because the presence of Kiwiana in their coverage draws upon a shared inventory of all things Kiwi. This establishes, in the process, a degree of cultural competency (on behalf of the players) and may inspire (amongst audiences) the potential for understandings of a shared history, identity and a sense of fraternity. This form of coverage may therefore have acted, again in a patriotising capacity, to align the 2010 All Whites with mainstream New Zealand national identity.

Perhaps most notably of all, amongst the implicit ties drawn between the 2010 All Whites and New Zealand nationalism, there were a range of articles and images that related a level of All Black endorsement regarding the All Whites and their World Cup campaign (e.g., a135, a181, a188, a194, a304, a350, a363, a350). All Black player Neemia Tialata was quoted as to the level of All Blacks players’ support for their football counterparts: “We’ve been tweeting with a few players over there, just sending them good luck messages. The boys are definitely behind them...” (a135, para. 6). The media also chose to quote All Blacks assistant coach Wayne Smith who further related the All Blacks supportive stance toward the All Whites, stating, “All of our team was interested, we trained in an all white strip yesterday and we’ve got some big soccer supporters in the team...” (a194, para. 12. See fig 9 below, which accompanied the article and showed Tialata in a white training strip). Vociferous praise for the All Whites also came from former All Black, and Rugby World Cup winning sports hero

³⁵ The word “dance” is inadequate here, but there is no true English equivalent to the word “haka”. Also, the performance of a haka is not necessarily related to war or conflict, although it has been widely misperceived as such (see Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2005).

Michael Jones who declared the All Whites' efforts "unparalleled" in New Zealand's sporting history (a350, para. 3). Finally, coverage of comments by New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) CEO Steve Tew not only endorsed the All Whites achievement, but also patriotised the team and drew them into the national collective identity. Tew, remarking as to the All Whites group stage efforts, was quoted as stating "They have done *us* very proud. This is a moment for the *country* to celebrate. Here is a bunch of *New Zealanders* punching so far above their weight it's almost unbelievable and putting *us* on the world stage." (a363, para. 6, emphasis added)³⁶.



Figure 9: All Black Neemia Tialata, a proud All Whites supporter, wearing a white training strip.

As discussed in the review of literature, the All Blacks, as New Zealand's nationally representative rugby union team, have enjoyed a long and intimate association with mainstream conceptions of national identity. Serving as a source of national pride for many New Zealanders, the All Blacks have a history of functioning as a socio-cultural pivot around which conceptions of nationhood have variously been embedded, challenged and reconfigured across New Zealand's social and sporting history (see Phillips, 1996; Ryan, 2005). As a result, rugby union, although not universally embraced in New Zealand, is widely

³⁶ Note my emphasis on the collectivism implied throughout Tew's comments on the All Whites.

regarded as the *national sport* with the All Blacks serving as the *national team*. In light of rugby's centrality to New Zealand's mainstream national identity, the repeated establishment of All Black support for and approval of their football counterparts, as evidenced above, seems likely to have further aligned the All Whites with New Zealand national identity in the eyes of some audiences, and particularly amongst the nation's many supporters of rugby union.

MIRROR, MIRROR ON THE WALL: THE LOOKING-GLASS, THE NATIONAL IMAGINARY AND THE ALL WHITES AS UNDERDOGS

Further to the existence of a significant patriotising media discourse produced by New Zealand journalists, international media coverage of the All Whites was retransmitted widely amongst the nationally produced texts (e.g., a120, a181, a192, a194, a197, a211, a213, a245, a291, a321, a332, a344, a360, a384, a411, a440, a531). The reproduction of these international perspectives on the All Whites provided New Zealand audiences with rare insights into world opinion of their nationally representative football team. Furthermore, the fact that international media were writing about the All Whites may also have implicitly indicated to New Zealand audiences that the team were considered important, and that their World Cup achievements were significant.

The reproduction of international coverage of the 2010 All Whites occurred in three primary forms. In the first and most prolific form, the national media's reproduction of international All-Whites coverage was represented in a summary manner, often surveying a variety of international sources within the boundaries of a single article, subsequently described as "world" reaction (e.g., a360, a332, a531). The tone of this material, throughout the sample, was largely affirmative in nature, featuring a range of international recognition and acclaim for the All Whites. This trend toward positivity is evident in some of the article headlines; e.g., "World heaps praise on our Unbeatables" (a531), "World media praise 'gallant' All Whites" (a360), and "World takes notice of All Whites" (a332).

Secondly, some article headlines specifically focused on Australian media response, for example, "Aussies claim credit for All Whites' success" (a.181), "Aussies get in on All Whites' win" (a.213), and "Aussies struggle with All Whites' result" (a194). Although focusing primarily on Australian reaction, and headlining it as such, these articles also contained limited reproductions of, variously, French, British, Italian and North American media content. The article headlines reflect a palpable level of antagonism directed toward

Australia, reflecting here traditional sporting tensions between the Australian and New Zealand nations (Smith, 2004). Note, however, that one article did break this trend toward animosity with the headline, “Aussies congratulate All Whites” (a.440).

Finally, there were occasional reproductions of negative international coverage surrounding the All Whites. These appeared early in the sample, before the All Whites had surpassed all expectations by going unbeaten in pool play. For instance, there was reproduction of comments drawn from Italian sports newspaper, *Corriere dello Sport*, which had utterly dismissed the All Whites due to their supposed lack of “sophistication” and their “technical inadequacy” (a291, para. 2). A second article reproduced the views in major French newspaper, *L’Equipe*, which had written off the All Whites even before the tournament started.

If the All Whites score a goal, the whole country will be satisfied. If they take a point, they will be received as heroes on their return. If they progress beyond the group stage you will see a statue erected in Wellington. Unfortunately it is possible, that not even the first scenario will happen. (a120, para. 2)

These reproductions of international opinion surrounding the All Whites served as a looking-glass of sorts, catalysing a process whereby New Zealand audiences were likely to engage with the national imaginary, and its derivative notion of national identity. Cooley (1902) originally introduced the notion of the “looking-glass self” (p. 184), which he coined to describe a psychosocial process whereby our sense of self-image is influenced by our own ongoing interpretations of the messages we get from others in our social world. Anderson (1983) argued a similar line but on the collective level, detailing that a given nation’s perception of itself, its national self-image as such, develops, in large part, via mediated dialogues with other nations. In this particular case, the dialogue in question revolves around the All Whites World Cup campaign and the role of the *other* is played by the aforementioned range of international media sources cited within the sampled texts. When considering New Zealand audiences and their likely interpretations of this dialogue with media others, the culturally embedded underdog status of New Zealanders is an important consideration. And it is New Zealand’s national relationship with its Pacific neighbour Australia that provides keen instruction here. Although far from outright expressions of hostility, there were evident tensions in the coverage referencing Australian media that most likely represent a reflection of the longstanding sporting rivalry between the Australian and

New Zealand nations, something commonly depicted in media discourse as a “quasi-sibling rivalry” (Smith, 2004, p. 170). This supposed trans-Tasman enmity, which Smith (2004) describes as the media “inventing a rivalry” (p.170), gained a foothold in the later decades of the twentieth century, having since been popularly accepted in New Zealand, although less so in Australia (Smith, 2004), and has developed into a sporting discourse wherein New Zealand has typically played the precocious little brother, eager to emulate big brother’s sporting success but ultimately incapable of competing with Australia’s greater economic investment in sports and broader talent base by way of population. In most sporting endeavours, save recent rugby³⁷ and netball³⁸ history, New Zealand has played this underdog role, in sporting and other contexts, to the extent that it has become widely accepted, adopted and even celebrated as a core element of national identity (Smith, 2004). New Zealand’s self-perceived underdog status is also integral to the national mythos, which is largely Pakeha and male in its orientation, shaping a national imaginary wherein New Zealand exists as a small and geographically isolated country, valiantly fighting an ever-uphill battle to achieve, inevitably doing so against all odds and expectations (Phillips, 1996).

If one accepts the centrality of the underdog factor in mainstream conceptions of New Zealand national identity, and also its primacy within the sporting context, the aforementioned reproductions of international perspectives of the 2010 All Whites largely appear to position the team as underdogs, or as *overachieving* underdogs. Revisiting the three primary ways in which international media coverage was reproduced within the sampled national media, it is relatively easy to identify embedded elements of the aforementioned underdog narrative.

Firstly, the largely positive world reaction to the 2010 All Whites framed their credible performances as being against all odds and surpassing all expectations; both classic foundations of the underdog narrative popularised and celebrated in New Zealand culture. The All Whites were explicitly ascribed this role on occasion, with one New Zealand paper quoting the USA’s *Sports Illustrated*; “Every World Cup needs *underdogs*, and there is none more appealing than the kiwis” (a332, para. 17, emphasis added). Further to the construction of the underdog narrative, the team’s efforts were conveyed as a transcendence of world

³⁷ Rugby union matches involving the All Blacks are one sporting domain wherein the New Zealand public have typically not engaged with the national underdog narrative, having expected, instead, to win most matches and, in some cases, to win with the greatest of ease.

³⁸ Around the time of writing (2011), netball competitions between Australia and New Zealand have typically been highly competitive, ‘knife-edge’ contests.

media and expert preconceptions that the All Whites were “...a bunch of part-timers there to make up the numbers (a531, para. 15), and “...the team from the ultimate backwater, the proverbial team of part-timers and no-hopers...” (a332, para. 8). A reproduction of comments in the *Sydney Morning Herald* also positioned the All Whites as a team surpassing their station in world football, declaring the team’s final match against Paraguay, “...a gallant exit by New Zealand who finished unbeaten after three draws in a group in which they were expected to be cannon fodder...” (a360, para. 4).

Regarding the specific reproduction of Australian media coverage surrounding the 2010 All Whites, a focus on Australian perspectives is not surprising. Both Australia (the Socceroos) and New Zealand (the All Whites) qualified for the FIFA World Cup 2010, although they did not compete against each other at the tournament³⁹. Given the aforementioned adversarial background between these two sporting nations, New Zealand’s perennial, self-ascribed underdog status across almost all sporting codes and the objectively superior performance by the All Whites⁴⁰ at the tournament, this provided a rare opportunity for the New Zealand media, as advocates for the *little brother*, to highlight the All Whites’ trumping of the larger, better resourced, and more fancied Australian *big brother*. As such, the presence of palpable trans-Tasman agitation was to be expected. Two articles, for example, on the subject of the All Whites 1-1 draw with Slovakia, were scathing of a *Sydney Morning Herald* article that had the headline “Australasia 1 – Slovakia 1” (a181, para. 2; a213, para. 3), retorting that “those shameless Aussies are even claiming the All Whites” (a181, para. 1), here accusing the Australian media of trying to capitalise on New Zealand’s victory by jumping on the bandwagon. Another article detailed how Australian newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, had delivered backhanded compliments on the All Whites apparent superiority to the faltering Socceroos when it related that “no amount of juvenile joking about their accents, their fondness for mooching around Bondi while on the dole or their affection for farm animals can alter that fact” (a213, para. 7).

Finally, the reproduction of specific bouts of negative international media opinion on the 2010 All Whites likely served only to further entrench the team’s underdog status in the eyes of New Zealand audiences. The dismissal of the All Whites by Italy’s *Corriere dello Sport* and France’s *L’Equipe* likely held considerable sway with New Zealand audiences as this

³⁹ They did, however, play a hotly contested ‘friendly’ match on May 24th at the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG) in Australia. Australia was victorious, 2-1. This game served as a World Cup warm-up.

⁴⁰ Although both teams failed to progress beyond the group-stage, the All Whites exited the tournament unbeaten, with a better goal difference than the Socceroos.

opinion originated from much larger, much more football-savvy nations, wherein football is the national sport and there also exist traditions of football success and achievement at the highest levels⁴¹. Rather than being taken as an affront to the nation, these opinions would likely rest congruently with mainstream New Zealand perceptions of being world-football minnows. Being positioned as football lightweights was likely to be endearing to New Zealand audiences, as it allows for the engagement of the national underdog mythos on the grandest of scales; within the context of the All Whites against-all-odds struggle to triumph over much higher-ranked national teams⁴², on the world's biggest sporting stage⁴³.

DISCUSSION

Keane (2001), regarding the earlier 1982 All Whites World Cup qualification, and their associated rise and fall within the national consciousness, noted a widespread (but not all-encompassing) public sentiment that suggested the 1982 squad lacked a certain sense of 'Kiwiness'. At that time, for perhaps the very first time in history, football had rivalled the culturally dominant code of rugby union. However, the strong presence of British expatriates in the playing squad suggested to many in the national audience that the 1982 squad did not represent a collective of the best and brightest home-grown New Zealand talent but, rather, a player core perceived as being more closely aligned to British nationalities (English in particular) than New Zealand. With the benefit of hindsight, this sort of audience interpretation is understandable, given that the key points of comparison for New Zealand audiences (circa 1982) were the All Blacks and the New Zealand cricket teams, who experienced significant periods of success in the late 1970s/early 1980s. Both codes had no problem building squads of top talent from local domestic and club sources (being the culturally dominant codes in the winter and summer, respectively). These rugby and cricket representatives were overwhelmingly New Zealand-born, held longstanding developmental ties to their respective national bodies and were largely playing and/or living locally. Furthermore, professionalism had not yet drawn players offshore to pursue big money contracts, so top talent was not only abundant but also available. In stark contrast, New Zealand football found itself in a much weaker position; elite local talent was thought to be

⁴¹ Both nations have previously held the FIFA World Cup; (Italy: 2006, 1982, 1938, 1934) & (France: 1998).

⁴² At the time of the tournament rankings were as follows; All Whites (72nd), Slovakia (34th), Italy (5th), and Paraguay (16th).

⁴³ FIFA's own research proposed an approximated figure of 26 billion (cumulative) views for the 2010 World cup tournament, more than enough for everyone on the planet to have watched three or four matches. The tournament was also said to have been viewed in 214 countries (FIFA, 2011).

lacking⁴⁴, along with resources and expertise (Keane, 2001). Keane details that the arrival and rise to prominence of foreign (mostly British-born) players, had been in progress for some time, with ranks of footballing immigrants being drafted into amateur/semi-professional contracts in roles as players, player-coaches or specialist coaches in order to fill the supposed gap in skills, and bolster the ranks of talent at the elite level. Some of these immigrants, as soon as they were able to qualify by FIFA rules, naturally became first choice players for the 1982 All Whites squad because they had originated from intense, highly competitive football cultures and better resourced developmental systems able to produce an excess of talented players.

As of 2010, however, due to a range of developments that fall beyond the scope of this discussion, New Zealand now has its own burgeoning crop of player talent available for All Whites selection. At the time of writing, many of the All Whites squad featured in the sample ply their football trade professionally in overseas leagues (e.g., Australia, England, Denmark and the USA). Other players were, at the time, playing football within New Zealand's only professional franchise, the Wellington Phoenix (e.g., Tim Brown, Ben Sigmund, Leo Bertos and Tony Lochhead). Only a few players played for local clubs (e.g., Ivan Vicelich⁴⁵) or at a regional level (e.g., Aaron Clapham, Cole Peverley and Andy Baron); these amateur/semi professional individuals being rare. Irrespective of their various football career trajectories, the reality of professional football has ensured (for now and the foreseeable future) that the majority of the All Whites squad have spent, or will spend, much of their adult lives residing in other countries in order to pursue football careers, sometimes failing to return to New Zealand for years, decades, or even potentially taking up residency and/or citizenship on other shores. The reality for top-flight players is that career prospects remain limited in New Zealand given its relatively small player base, limited resourcing, weak domestic competition and historical position on the periphery of the New Zealand sporting and popular cultures.

As such, the sort of patriotising coverage I have detailed herein not only serves to align players with New Zealand identity in the eyes of an audience, but also serves an educative purpose, to establish or re-establish the Kiwi credentials of many players who have been out of the public eye for much of their careers. Except for expert audiences, being those who

⁴⁴ 1982 All Whites striker Wynton Rufer, then an emerging talent, became a rare exception to this general rule.

⁴⁵ Vicelich played for Auckland City FC, a semi professional football club that has participated in international competitions such as the FIFA World Club Championships and Oceania Champions League.

have gone out of their way to stay informed regarding All Whites, many New Zealanders, even many who would class themselves as sports fans, likely required such education due to a greater focus on international football and footballers in the national media (dominated in particular by coverage of the EPL, European leagues, the UEFA champions league and age group World Cups)⁴⁶.

Although the overwhelming majority of the 2010 All Whites squad are New Zealand-born and locally bred (at least as far as their amateur football development) there remained a select group of players who might be likely to elicit a degree of audience scepticism regarding their authenticity as New Zealanders, albeit on a scale that pales in comparison to the 1982 squad. Players with dual citizenship, those who have switched national allegiances, those who played age-level football under the banner of another nation, and those who have had little or no residency in New Zealand, were either subject to little coverage that delved into their life histories (e.g., Michael McGlinchey, arguably a Scotsman, and also Shane Smeltz, German-born, and having resided in New Zealand relatively briefly, amidst stints in America and Australia), or omitted from such coverage altogether (e.g., David Mulligan and Tim Brown, both born in England). In the case of those players whose ties to other nations are explicitly addressed (e.g., Winston Reid, Rory Fallon and Tommy Smith) they were all targeted for specific patriotising coverage, the likes of which I have outlined above, thereby mitigating potential audience suspicions of their legitimacy as national representatives.

Putting aside the five players who were not subject to any background coverage whatsoever (Tim Brown, Glen Moss, Andrew Boyens, Cole Peverley and Tony Lochhead), Ryan Nelsen is easily the All White most regularly and robustly tied to New Zealand identity, representing the effective peak of the patriotising trend evident across the sample. At the other end of the continuum, it is perhaps Michael McGlinchey who most closely parallels the concerns raised over numerous players in the 1982 World Cup squad. It is therefore interesting that McGlinchey's overwhelmingly Scottish background is mentioned only tersely within a single sentence, which summarised "Born in Wellington when his father was playing for Lower Hutt, McGlinchey hadn't returned to New Zealand since his family moved back to Scotland

⁴⁶ Bruce (2008a) found considerable coverage of international football in the Waikato Times and New Zealand Herald (major daily New Zealand Newspapers). Football ranked as the third most covered sporting code overall, with 60% of all football coverage focused on overseas teams but only a third of all football coverage focused on New Zealand men's football at all levels (All Whites, U-20, domestic, Phoenix). Further, coverage of New Zealand's only professional football franchise, the Wellington Phoenix, received only 11% of all New Zealand football coverage.

when he was a baby” (a233, para. 10). Audiences doing their own research⁴⁷ would quickly note that McGlinchey changed his allegiance to New Zealand just prior to the official FIFA deadline, after representing Scotland at age-group level, had effectively lived his entire life in Scotland, and spoke with a thick Glaswegian accent. It seems likely therefore, that more frequent coverage of his background may have elicited from New Zealand audiences a significant level of resistance to his alignment with New Zealand national identity. It should be noted, however, that McGlinchey played a very limited role at the World Cup, and his lack of coverage was therefore appropriate given his station at the time.

All factors considered, audiences engaging with the sampled texts and the identified trend towards patriotising the All Whites, would likely have been encouraged to interpret most, if not all, of the 2010 All Whites squad as authentic, and evidently partisan, New Zealanders. Players were demonstrably tied to New Zealand identity and the Kiwi way of life in a variety of compelling, often overlapping and complimentary forms. This was primarily evident in coverage of players’ backgrounds that established distinct ties to New Zealand national identity in a range of forms, both deliberate and implied, involving player self-determinations, the establishment of links to New Zealand’s geography and Maori culture, the co-opting of Kiwiana, and various combinations thereof. Coverage of those players whose background might potentially undermine such impressions of nationalistic authenticity was limited; they featured very rarely in the sample and were therefore unlikely to impact audience interpretations in a significant manner. Concerns regarding the national authenticity of the 2010 squad were therefore unlikely to result, which is a significant shift from audience interpretations of the 1982 squad, and seems due to more than the bare fact that the 2010 squad incorporated primarily playing talent that was primarily New Zealand born-and-bred.

Further to the patriotising of players, media representation of the 2010 All Whites also drew upon the culturally embedded premise, widely subscribed to by New Zealanders, of New Zealand being fundamentally an underdog nation. This conception lies at the core of mainstream New Zealand national identity, and rises to the fore during major international sporting events and tournaments. The national media’s reproduction of international All Whites coverage likely served as a looking glass, reflecting and reinforcing to New Zealand audiences not just the widely perceived underdog status for the All Whites but also the gratifying image of the underdog made good; achieving against the odds, defying the

⁴⁷ A simple Google search of his name, for example.

naysayers, basking in world acclaim and, of particular import to kiwis, a trumping of traditional sporting rival and cultural neighbour, Australia.

It has been widely acknowledged that the All Whites 2010 World Cup campaign drew the New Zealand public to football on an unprecedented scale, including audiences typically not aligned with sporting fandom, and also sporting audiences traditionally aligned to other codes (e.g., rugby union). This may owe something to the apparent authenticity of the squad's nationalistic ties, as represented in the sampled texts, and especially so when contrasted against the 1982 All Whites. If the sampled coverage is in any way representative of the national media coverage in general, as is my premise, it should be little wonder that the 2010 All Whites, and their 'one shot for glory'⁴⁸ became a focus for widespread public interest and nationalistic fervour. Both the media's patriotisation of certain players and the co-opting of the national underdog narrative go some distance towards understanding the widespread national interest and investment of affiliative pride in the 2010 All Whites and their World Cup campaign⁴⁹. This in turn elucidates the All Whites', and in a wider sense, football's, rise to pre-eminence in the New Zealand national consciousness.

⁴⁸ A promotional motto and All Whites theme song surrounding the All Whites 2010 World Cup campaign in South Africa. Also adopted as the title for a photographic essay regarding the All Whites 2010 FIFA World cup campaign; see <http://www.penguin.co.nz>

⁴⁹ See pp. 53-56 for evidence of widespread public investment in the 2010 All Whites.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS: MASCULINITY

In this chapter I identify a range of representations in sampled imagery and article text that appears to have encoded a preferred meaning that linked the 2010 All Whites to a hard style of athletic masculinity more typically associated with heavy-contact, combative sports. I go on to argue that audiences self-identifying as New Zealanders were likely to perceive, as a result of interaction with this preferred meaning, a degree of alignment between the 2010 All Whites and New Zealand's mainstream, largely Pakeha, masculine culture. I suggest that this preferred meaning distanced the 2010 All Whites from traditional emasculated preconceptions surrounding football in New Zealand; thereby allowing the team, its athletes and the sport in general, to be ascribed an acceptable level of masculine credibility. This in turn, may have made the 2010 All Whites more palatable than in the past to New Zealand audiences, making public displays of support and investment more socially acceptable and may explain in part the team's capturing of national interest and widespread public support.

This chapter begins with a brief reestablishment of understandings regarding masculinity, as I have employed it within this thesis, further locating this within the New Zealand socio-cultural context, and finally, positioning the concept with particular regards to sport/football in New Zealand. I then provide an analysis that examines the two primary thematic threads related to masculinity, as drawn from the sampled media coverage. Firstly, I examine a range of images depicting various All Whites' players in partially nude states, regarding here the likely audience appreciations of these muscular bodily forms and connections to masculinity. Secondly, I detail a media discourse that focused upon the 2010 All Whites' physicality, particularly in terms of player size, and also in the media's highlighting of the team's uncompromising, combative style of play. I conclude with a discussion section that ties these themes together; further contextualising my analysis in light of public opinion surrounding the storied 1982 World Cup squad (Keane, 2001), the formative influences surrounding All Whites football tradition and also with regard to the dominant cultural masculine imagery in New Zealand (Phillips, 1996).

As stated earlier, from a sociological perspective, masculinity can be understood as a social construct that is ascribed to individuals through social processes (Edley & Wetherell 1995). Although masculinity is typically linked with male bodies, it is not ultimately determined by

male biology, but expressed and appreciated in a performative mode: for instance, what is said and done, or the ‘doing’ of masculinity, as opposed to simply ‘being’ masculine (Connell, 2000). Certain versions of masculinity become entrenched as normal and natural masculine expression, making them hegemonic constructs within a given socio-cultural-historical context (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic constructions of masculinity have widely, although not universally, been linked with traits including aggression, competitiveness, courage, physicality, work ethic and a social role as family provider (Edley & Wetherell 1995). Masculinity in New Zealand certainly has a hegemonic form, one that is rooted in a largely Pakeha mythos tied to the nation’s colonial heritage and images of rugged frontier living and early-settler lifestyles (Phillips, 1996). Over time this has led to a deeply embedded image of the ideal New Zealand man, who is, by hegemonic standards, a humble individual, resilient in the face of adversity, innovative and adaptable to his environment, ultimately self-sufficient, but a dedicated and dependable family provider, subscribing ultimately to a personal ethos of work ethic, egalitarianism and mateship (Phillips, 1996). The sport of rugby union dominates the cultural and media landscape in New Zealand, and does so, in part, due to its long established and widely, although not universally (see e.g., Pringle, 2001; Pringle & Markula, 2005), celebrated role in the construction, validation and reproduction of New Zealand’s traditional, hegemonic masculine image. Although rugby remains influential with regard to New Zealand’s hegemonic masculine image, it has been argued by some (e.g., Phillips, 1996) that this image of a culturally dominant, Pakeha-aligned masculinity has begun to show signs of transformation across recent decades. Whilst rugby’s impact on the masculine landscape is undeniable, relationships between football and masculinity in New Zealand remain somewhat unclear. It has been reported (e.g., Keane, 2001) that there has existed a widespread public perception of football as a game widely associated, in a derisive sense, with stereotyped aspects of femininity and homosexuality, herein distancing participants from approved (hegemonic) masculine status and implying that the sport is for those who are incapable or unwilling to engage in more ‘manly’ contests offered by other sports; of which, rugby union would surely be the cultural default. It has also been suggested by Keane that these negatively aligned public perceptions have, on occasion, been mitigated briefly, by international acclaim, achievement or individual success, but that any evident boost to the game’s masculine esteem has been manifestly mild, and always temporary. For instance, regarding the All Whites of 1982, Keane noted that the typical and longstanding public aversion to football on the grounds of lack of masculine credibility, or a supposed public perception of the game’s “poofter factor” was mitigated, to a degree, by the

1982 team's "association with a British-style of football with its emphasis on the physical elements of the game..." (p. 57).

Despite a number of laudable achievements, on and off the playing field⁵⁰, however, there has been little evidence of football making measurable progress toward greater cultural visibility and esteem. At this point, there has been little scholarly investigation into football's role in New Zealand society, and even less that has regarded the relationships between football and masculinity, in spite of the game's huge popularity as a participation sport in New Zealand (for adults and children alike) and the pivotal role it plays as a developmental site in the lives of an increasing number of children.

FOOTBALL FLESH: 'MUSCULINITY', MASCULINITY AND IMAGES OF THE 2010 ALL WHITES

In this section I firstly discuss the frequent pictorial depictions of 2010 All Whites players in a partially nude state. I argue that the overt, highly visible muscularity of the 2010 All Whites squad, as a whole, and especially the three players most often depicted in a state of undress, was likely to lead New Zealand audiences to ascribe an *acceptably masculine* status to the players, and team, especially by way of comparison to the well-remembered All Whites of 1982. I suggest that this attribution may have aided in public acceptance of the team and investment in their campaign, particularly amongst audiences previously averse to the code on the grounds of its longstanding lack of masculine credibility in the New Zealand socio-cultural context (see Keane, 2001).

A significant proportion of images gave *focus* (a judgment based primarily on whether or not an individual was positioned within the foreground of frame and clearly identifiable) to the bodies of All Whites players in partially nude states; both at rest, and in motion. This trend did not, however, extend to any of the wider squad (coaching/support staff). With regards to *partial nudity* I speak primarily of players being depicted without their uniform shirts, involving subsequent exposure to viewing audiences of bodily areas (hips, abdomen, chest, upper arms, shoulders, back, etc.) typically kept concealed by sports uniforms,

⁵⁰ E.g., prior to this study: New Zealand's full international women's team, the Football Ferns, have participated in both the 1991 and 2007 FIFA Women's World Cups. The All Whites had also qualified for the 1982 FIFA World Cup finals and participated in the 2009 Confederations Cup. New Zealand had also hosted the FIFA U-17 World Championships and the inaugural FIFA U-17 Women's World Cup in 2008. New Zealand's under-23 team, the "Oly-Whites", also qualified for the 2008 Olympic Games in China.

training/leisure wear or civilian clothing. Table 9 (below) details the distribution of photo focus across the squad, as it relates to significant instances of pictorial partial nudity.

Table 9: All Whites Squad Members and Instances of Partial Nudity

Name	Images featured (n)	Images involving partial nudity (n)	Featured Images involving partial nudity (%)
Ryan Nelsen	90	23	25.6
Winston Reid	62	11	17.7
Rory Fallon	39	9	23.1
Simon Elliott	20	8	40.0
Leo Bertos	13	6	46.2
Shane Smeltz	40	2	5.0
Tommy Smith	9	2	22.2
Andy Baron	6	1	16.7
Chris Killen	9	1	11.1
Ivan Vicelich	28	1	3.6
TOTALS	316	64	

From a total of 490 images that were found to focus upon particular individuals (see: table 8) a total of 64 (13%) involved partial nudity of varying forms and to various extents. These instances of partial nudity were evident only amongst members of the playing squad. While 24 players were officially involved in the squad, one late addition, Cole Peverley, was not pictured. Of the 23 players who were pictured, a total of ten (43%) are depicted in various states of undress. Five players in particular; Ryan Nelsen (23 images), Winston Reid (11 images), Rory Fallon (9 images), Simon Elliot (8 images) and Leo Bertos (6 images) account for the bulk of partial nudity evident in the sampled images, featuring in 57 out of 64 such instances (89%): (see Figures 10-13 below). Ryan Nelsen, the man most frequently brought

into focus across the sampled images (90 images), is also the player most frequently depicted in a partially nude state, with over a quarter (25.6%) of images in which he features depicting him in a state of undress. The following are typical examples of images involving the five players (Nelsen, Reid, Fallon, Elliot, and Bertos) most frequently depicted in a partially nude state (see Table 9 above).



Figure 10: (i338), Ryan Nelsen thanks fans for their support.



Figure 11: (i357), L-R Leo Bertos and Simon Elliot thank fans for their support.



Figure 12: (i27), Winston Reid celebrates scoring a goal against Slovakia.



Figure 13: (i257), Rory Fallon celebrates after the Italy match.

In many sporting pursuits, athletes bare more of their bodies to the audiences' gaze than they would in their typical, everyday, styles of civilian or street dress, much of which has to do

with the revealing nature of sports uniforms and the training garb, which is typically minimalist by design for largely practical reasons, often short and/or lightweight as not to impede ease of movement, and often tight so as not to catch or be held/pulled on by opponents. Football is one such sport. Anyone familiar with media as an industry, and sports media as a genre of representation, will be well aware that athletes' bodies are often exposed in visual forms of media; be it in the coverage of legitimate sporting competition (or training for such competition), in promotional campaigns, athlete product endorsements, or for the purposes of titillation in tabloid journalism. The scopophilic pleasures of exposed flesh, by which I refer to sexualised, fetishised or purely aesthetic audience appreciations of disciplined athletic bodies has always been a part of the spectacle by which the sports media make their trade (e.g., Duncan & Brummett, 1989).

Media coverage depicting the various rituals and traditions of a given sport can also provide occasion for audiences to fix their gaze upon exposed athletic bodies, sometimes for extended periods. Football is a primary example here. Although not exclusive to the sport, it is a tradition in men's football for players engaged in international fixtures, and less frequently at other levels of play, to swap shirts⁵¹ with their positional opposite (where applicable) at the conclusion of a match. Naturally, players prefer not to don another man's sweaty/soiled shirt, and typically opt instead to sling it over one shoulder (see Figures, 11, 14 and 16) or carry it around in hand (see Figures 13 and 17). As a result of this, many players will spend extended periods after matches shirtless (e.g., celebrating, commiserating, meeting/greeting fans, signing autographs, and doing media interviews). Therefore, any photography or filming undertaken immediately following a match is likely to feature partially nude players, exposed from the waist up. Further regarding football ritual, it has long been common practice for a goal-scorer to celebrate by removing his shirt⁵² and parading theatrically before the crowd⁵³ (see Figure 12). Indeed, it is no surprise then that almost all of the photos depicting the All Whites' players in partially nude states originated from either post-goal celebrations, or the post-match period. Images of this tendency are provided below (see Figures 14-18 below).

⁵¹ This is a tradition that began, according to FIFA lore, following a 1931 match between France and England; shirt-swapping is now the norm in almost all international football fixtures (Fifa.com, 2009).



Figure 14: (i61), L-R Ricki Herbert and Leo Bertos commiserate after the drawn match against Paraguay.



Figure 15: (i549), L-R, Ryan Nelsen and Simon Elliot head for the changing sheds.



Figure 16: (i412), L-R, a dejected Ryan Nelsen, Andrew Boyens and Tommy Smith after the draw with Paraguay.



Figure 17: (i415), Tommy Smith struggles with FIFA officials as he attempts to reach his family in the stands.



Figure 18: (i412), L-R, Ryan Nelsen, Andrew Boyens and Tommy Smith celebrate their 1-1 draw with Italy.

The frequency of partially nude All Whites depicted in the sampled images is not, however, the most salient point here. More importantly, I would point to the actual physiques of the footballers depicted in the samples, and in particular, the potential significance of the particular All Whites who most often represented partially nude (e.g., Nelsen, Reid and Fallon), especially given the commonalities between their respective physical builds.

Firstly, to gain a sense of perspective, it is important to consider the changing physique of the elite All White footballer in the most general terms. The 2010 All Whites, as a collective, represented a modern breed of footballer, one comprised of conspicuously taller and bulkier men than All Whites of previous eras (NZF, 2011). To consider how audiences might perceive physical size, the only suitable point of comparison is the 1982 football campaign, wherein mainstream New Zealand audiences were first exposed to visual depictions of All Whites, their athletic capabilities and their physical forms. The following statistical and visual comparisons prove useful at this juncture (See Table 10, and Figures 19 and 20 below).

Table 10: Physical Statistics of 2010 and 1982 All Whites from Tallest to Shortest

2010 ALL WHITES			1982 ALL WHITES		
Player Name	Ht (m)	Wt (kg)	Player Name	Ht (m)	Wt (kg)
James Bannatyne	1.95	95	Richard Wilson	1.88	81
Mark Paston	1.95	90	Glen Adam	1.85	83
Andrew Boyens	1.93	80	Barry Pickering	1.85	76
Chris Wood	1.91	90	Brian Turner	1.85	82
Winston Reid	1.90	87	Wynton Rufer	1.83	79
Ivan Vicelich	1.90	84	Frank Van Hattum	1.83	76
Rory Fallon	1.88	90	Bobby Almond	1.80	75
Glenn Moss	1.88	83	Ricki Herbert	1.80	70
Tommy Smith	1.88	78	Duncan Cole	1.78	76
Ben Sigmund	1.87	88	Steve Sumner	1.78	77
Tim Brown	1.85	83	Grant Turner	1.78	76
Ryan Nelsen	1.85	90	Allan Boath	1.73	74
Shane Smeltz	1.85	80	Adrian Elrick	1.73	66
Chris Killen	1.83	81	John Hill	1.73	68
Tony Lochhead	1.83	74	Keith Mackay	1.70	64
Jeremy Brockie	1.82	78	Dave Bright	NA	NA
Aaron Clapham	1.82	68	Kenny Cresswell	NA	NA
Cole Peverley	1.81	73	Glen Dods	NA	NA
Jeremy Christie	1.80	75	Sam Malcolmson	NA	NA
Simon Elliot	1.80	80	Billy McClure	NA	NA
Andy Barron	1.78	75	Peter Simonsen	NA	NA
Leo Bertos	1.77	80	Steve Woodin	NA	NA
Michael McGlinchey	1.75	68			
David Mulligan	1.73	66			
2010 AVERAGES	1.85	81	1982 AVERAGES	1.80	75

Table 10 shows that the average (mean) height of the 2010 All Whites is approximately five centimetres greater than their 1982 counterparts (1.85m, as opposed to 1.80m). Additionally, 2010 players weighed-in on average (mean) at approximately 6 kilograms heavier (81 kilograms, as opposed to 75kgs). Although the table is not complete, with some data pertaining to the 1982 players unavailable, there is a marked difference, with the 2010 All Whites appearing to be considerably larger athletes, in both height and weight. Although it is a matter of perception, these differences in physical size also appear fairly obvious in the respective world cup team photos below (see Figures 19 and 20 below). To establish a relative sense of scale, one might note, in particular, the position of the heads of the crouching players in relation to the standing players behind them.



Figure 19: The 2010 All Whites pose for a team photo (McGregor, 2010).



Figure 20: The 1982 All Whites pose for a team photo (Kicker Magazine, 1982).

In contrast to the amateur player base of the All Whites squad circa 1982, the All Whites of 2010 were largely a collective of professional football athletes; efficacy in this professional context involving a much greater emphasis on time spent in the gym and considerable focus on core and upper body strength, alongside lower body conditioning, than has been evident with regards to footballers of previous eras. With modern training for football supported by a range of advanced sports science, nutrition, and specialist coaching and training techniques, post millennial players have tended to exhibit more lean muscle tissue, while also maintaining the traditional training focus on low body fat levels, acceleration, agility and cardiovascular stamina that have always been crucial to top-flight football performance (Bangsbo, 1994).

Turning attention back to the five individuals who were depicted pictorially in states of partial nudity, both Elliot (1.80m/80kgs) and Bertos (1.77m/ 80kgs) respectively ranked 4th and 5th in frequency, are shorter athletes than the team average (1.85m) but typical of the team's leanly muscular weight average (81kgs). They can therefore be established as fairly representative of the physical mass/muscularity typical amongst the All Whites, being, by way of comparison to the typical New Zealand male⁵⁴, somewhat taller and somewhat leaner, although it is noted their lesser mass is composed of a high proportion of functional lean muscular tissue, as opposed to body fat. However, the three individuals most frequently pictorially represented in partially nude states (Nelsen, Reid and Fallon), who together account for 67% of partial nudity evidenced within the sample, all possess significantly different physiques to the relatively normative physiques of Bertos and Elliot. Specifically, all three are as tall or taller than the team average of 6 feet 1 inch; Nelsen (6ft 1 in), Reid (6ft 3in) and Fallon (6 ft 2), and significantly, all three are considerably larger in terms of physical mass/muscularity than the average (81kgs); Nelsen (90kgs), Reid (87kgs) and Fallon (90kgs)⁵⁵.

The significance here is that the physiques of these three All Whites players who dominate pictorial coverage in the sample, are much more closely aligned to the muscular body mass of New Zealand's elite rugby union athletes than to that of their fellow All White footballers. To be more specific, had they not known this was football coverage, audiences viewing the exposed bodies of Fallon, Reid and Nelsen, being witness to their evident muscularity and

⁵⁴ In the age group (17-30), this can be approximated at 84.5 kgs and 1.77m (5'7), see Rush, Plank, Chandu, Lau, Simmons, Swinburn, Chittaranjan & Yajnik, (2004).

⁵⁵ While my statistics come from official sources, the weight of players noted in the sampled texts does tend to vary somewhat. Fallon, for example, is variously noted as weighing either 90 or 91 kg.

physical stature, could have easily thought these athletes members of the 2010 All Blacks, particularly the All Black ‘backs’⁵⁶ with most of the elite All Black backs weighing in within the range of 85-100kgs⁵⁷ and exhibiting similarly lean, muscular figures with low-fat body compositions.

In rugby union (a heavy-contact sport replete with combative elements and frequent, often severe, bodily collisions) upper-body strength and mesomorphic body types are required in order to be an efficacious player at the highest levels. Most elite footballers, however, might be expected to fall in the 60kg-80kgs range of body mass (Edwards, Clark, & Macfadyen, 2003), with the All Whites trending toward the higher end of this range. In the football context, players weighing in within 80-90kgs, (which would be the bottom end of the professional rugby range), represent the larger athletes of the code, with players over 90kgs typically extremely rare, outside of the larger, lankier frames of goalkeepers who are often sizeable individuals in height (e.g., 6 ft 3 in) and weight (e.g., 90kgs and upwards) (Edwards et al., 2003). In the case of the 2010 All Whites, Nelsen, Reid and Fallon could all be considered large football players (for non-goalkeepers)⁵⁸.

It is the visual representations of All Whites captain Ryan Nelsen that are perhaps the most important to consider at this point, given that he is the All White most frequently featured in the sample, and thus, the most likely to be subject to audiences’ examinations; with over a quarter of his photos (25.6%) featuring Nelsen’s body in an exposed state of partial nudity. As I have already suggested, Nelsen’s physique is much more closely aligned to that of the typical All Black back than the typical footballer. A direct comparison with All Black first five-eighth Daniel (Dan) Carter is illustrative at this juncture, Carter being the All Black most widely and pervasively depicted by the media in a state of undress⁵⁹ (see Figures 21 and 22 below).

⁵⁶ ‘Backs’ is an umbrella term for the more agile player positions in rugby union, wherein the majority of passing, running and kicking of the ball takes place.

⁵⁷ Sourced from www.AllBlacks.com

⁵⁸ The unusual size of the 2010 All Whites, in comparison to other national sides, was frequently a focus in NZ media coverage (see p. 89).

⁵⁹ Carter’s body has been exposed in numerous promotional campaigns (e.g., Rexona deodorants, Jockey brand underwear, Canterbury clothing).



Figure 21: (i70), Ryan Nelsen celebrates post-match.



Figure 22: All Black Daniel Carter, modelling for Jockey brand underwear (Jockey, 2009).

In the side-by-side comparison above, there is clearly very little difference between the physiques of All White Ryan Nelsen and All Black pin-up Dan Carter. Nelsen (although his muscles are tensed in celebratory exuberance) may actually appear the more muscular of the two. To refer back to official listings of their respective physical statistics, Carter is considerably shorter (5 feet, 9 in) but typically plays at a weight of around 94kgs, slightly heavier than Nelsen, although this difference is negligible. In fact, there were a number of 2010 All Blacks presented by the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU, 2011) as being physically slighter than Nelsen (e.g., Cory Jane, Colin Slade, Zachary Guildford, and Andrew Ellis). Effectively then, Nelsen, Fallon (and even Reid at a stretch), can all be said to be of All Black physical dimensions, which is unusual for footballers; thus all three could have been seen as comparable to members of an All Blacks backline of the same era.

There are significant implications here, when one considers the role that physical size and muscularity may play in audience appreciations of masculinity with regards to 2010 All Whites players, and the code (football) they represent. In Tasker's (1993) readings of action cinema, with particular regard to the popular actors of the genre, she coined the term *musculinity* to refer to "...a physical definition of masculinity in terms of a developed musculature" (p. 3), this being equally applicable to both male and female bodies in action

cinema, although more typically to the former. Tasker suggested that frequent invitations for scopophilic gaze upon disciplined, muscular physiques in action films is likely to have profound influences upon audience appreciations of masculinity, serving as a primary marker of masculine status and influencing the ascription, by audiences, of masculine status upon a given character (be the character male or female). I submit that this notion serves equally well for textual analysis in the sports media genre, wherein the visual coverage of sport evidences similarities to action cinema including a focus on the aesthetics of muscular (athletic) bodies, and frequent displays of physical strength, skill and endurance that offer audiences ample opportunities for prolonged gazing upon and admiration of the muscular bodies of athletes in action, often in various states of undress/exposure, both of which mesh well with the typical masculine and muscular aesthetics of action cinema.

Given the paucity of football coverage in the New Zealand media at large, the images I have sampled would represent a rare occasion, perhaps even the first occasion, during which New Zealand audiences could witness the exposed bodies of contemporary All Whites footballers. Engaging with these images would have enabled audiences to draw evaluative comparisons between the physiques of various All Whites and those belonging to much more familiar mass-mediated New Zealand athletes including, but not limited to, the ubiquitous physique of All Black rugby star Daniel Carter. If we accept Tasker's view, that the presence of prominent musculature in imagery is likely to signify masculine status to audiences, there is significant evidence to suggest that the 2010 All Whites, and in particular Nelsen, Fallon and Reid, are likely to have been ascribed a reasonably robust masculine status in the eyes of New Zealand audiences by virtue of their apparent muscularity. Given that the three All Whites who dominated the partially nude pictorial representation also happened to be three of the largest and most muscular players, the net audience perceptions of the team's muscularity, and thus its signified masculinity, was likely to have been significantly enhanced.

BLACK AND BLUE: THE ALL WHITES, PHYSICALITY AND AGGRESSIVE FOOTBALL STYLE

In this second section, I examine a range of material that further focused upon the 2010 All Whites' physicality, representing players as football athletes of atypical size and, further, drew audience attention to the centrality of this imposing physicality in the teams' proclivity towards an uncompromising, combative style of play. I note here a congruence with

traditional conceptions surrounding the All Whites and physical play style (see Keane, 2001), but consider also the affect of the additional focus on the physical superiority of the All Whites, as opposed to other teams in general and the All Whites circa 1982. Specifically, I suggest that New Zealand audiences exposed to this coverage were most likely to have perceived the 2010 All Whites as an acceptably masculine group of athletes, the focus on their physical play style inviting comforting alignments with the physicality of the culturally privileged heavy-contact sport, rugby union; this being further legitimised by the aforementioned media focus on the size and muscularity of the 2010 All Whites.

In the written texts, a range of coverage throughout the sample appeared to frame the 2010 All Whites as an unusually large and physically imposing football squad, with an aggressive, abrasive, rough-and-tumble style of play. One article commented that “New Zealand’s abrasiveness up front and at the back is a key to their game...” (a85, para. 13). The All Whites were also said to be operating a “smash-and-grab” style of play (a85, para. 11), wielding a “physically imposing strike force” (a232, para. 4) and troubling more skilful, technically superior teams with their “aggressive and aerial approach” (a234, para. 4). As a fan commented, regarding the group-stage match with Italy, “yes, we came across as aggressive but that is our style, we play aggressive” (a305, para. 3)⁶⁰.

This media focus on the physical merits of the All Whites players was especially evident with regards to player height, both as individuals and as a collective, by which a supposed advantage was established in regard to set-piece play and toward the winning of aerial challenges. The tone for this focus on player physicality was set in one early article headlined “Size may matter in NZ’s World Cup campaign” (a70, headline), which went on to claim that “Physical size and doggedness are likely to be New Zealand’s greatest weapons at the World Cup in South Africa” (a70, para. 1). The centrality of the team’s size/height to its impending World Cup fortunes was further affirmed when another journalist noted, as to the team’s strength’s, that “...they are [a] big side... dominant in the air...” and capable of threatening opponents by delivering “aerial assault” by way of set pieces, long balls and crosses (a46, para. 11-12). The centrality of player height to the team’s tactics was further confirmed when it was reported that All Whites coach Ricki Herbert, in preparing his strategy to face the fancied and reigning world champions, Italy, during the World Cup group stage, would be looking to develop a game plan that would “maximize their main advantage – height” (a251,

⁶⁰ Note here the fan’s use of “we” and “our” implying national affiliations. This is discussed further in chapter IV.

para. 6). Another article headlined, “Italy wary of All Whites’ aerial presence” (a272, headline). Further, an Italian journalist was also quoted as saying “They have a lot of tall players” (a240, para. 18), expressing that the All Whites would be strong with headers and from set-piece play, representing a threat to the Italians primarily in these areas. A focus on player height was especially prominent with regard to the All Whites’ attacking players (e.g., Fallon, Wood, Killen and Smeltz). Striker, Rory Fallon, for example, was singled out as “a leaping giant” (a459, para. 11) and “the big man” (a99, para. 11). Collectively, the attackers were variously dubbed as “tall timber up front” (a85, para. 5), “big boys up front” (a234, para. 32) and the “big boppers” (a142, para. 12).

Historically speaking, physicality has long been a key element in New Zealand masculine mythos, the annals of which feature a litany of larger-than-life, physically imposing figures. Jock Phillips, in surveying masculinity in the latter half of the 20th century and the urbanisation of the New Zealand male, noted “As men settled into their domestic niches and as society became more bureaucratic, organised and urban, so men clung to exaggerated images of physical prowess” (1996, p. 266). Phillips cites two iconic New Zealand masculine figures, adventurer and humanitarian Sir Edmund Hillary, and farmer/rugby legend Colin ‘Pine Tree’ Meads, as his examples par excellence – both men of particularly tall and solid build, and famed in their prime for feats of toughness, endurance and strength. As such, the alignment of the 2010 All Whites with physicality, particularly revolving around physical height, is congruent with culturally hegemonic images of masculinity in the New Zealand context.

Drawing upon this masculine tradition, and establishing a positive alignment therein, it seems likely that mainstream New Zealand audience interpretations of these sorts of media coverage would have found a new ease with football as a masculine pursuit. It also seems likely that they would therefore have perceived these tall and physically impressive athletes as rather more palatable masculine figures than historical preconceptions surrounding football somatotypes. Although it may evidence a degree of progress, and the potential for further movement toward the masculine cultural centre of New Zealand, I argue that this limited alignment of the 2010 All Whites with aspects of hegemonic New Zealand masculinity most likely served to temporarily alleviate, rather than dispel, football’s longstanding alignment with subjugated masculinities in the New Zealand socio-cultural context, as Keane (2001) has argued.

In the second form of coverage regarding the physicality of the 2010 All Whites, attention was drawn to the team's physicality made manifest on the playing field in the form of a supposedly aggressive and abrasive style of play, featuring roughhouse tactics (e.g., a70, a85, a100, a117, a232, a234, a273, a281, a283, a284, a286, a305, a320). This trend was especially pronounced in articles addressing the All Whites attacking players, with striker Rory Fallon the standout individual (see Figure 23 below).



Figure 23: (i403), Rory Fallon. Fallon's physical style of play, use of his elbows, and on-field aggression was reported as embodying the All Whites' physical brand of football.

Fallon appeared often in discussions of aggression, abrasiveness and rough play, and was effectively positioned as the All Whites embodiment of fully committed, and at times over-committed, player physicality; at all times aggressive, abrasive and pushing the limits of the FIFA laws, inevitably penetrating into the centre of controversy and confrontation (e.g., a2, a6, a9, a20, a86, a218, a221, a286, a329). For instance, "You have to love Rory Fallon's attitude. He contests everything, fears nothing, and has the ability to strike a pose of innocence when he uses a defender's back as a step-ladder" (a98, para. 6). Fallon was also said to operate with a "no holds-barred style..." (a404, para. 32), making him "...a handful for any team. All elbows and tenacity..." (a86, para. 1). For better or worse, there is a degree of factuality in this representation of Fallon as an overzealous on-field competitor. It was, for example, transmitted to audiences that his efforts had led him to hold, during group play, the

dubious distinction as “the most penalised player at the World Cup” (a315, para. 4), with a total of 14 infringements in the All Whites first two group matches alone⁶¹. The accumulation of so many penalties indicates that in the eyes of FIFA match referees, Fallon’s efforts were excessive, breeching FIFA mandates surrounding bodily contact and contestation of the ball. While referees may have found Fallon’s approach to the game excessively physical, his take-no-prisoners approach was subject to mixed messages in the sample. There were scant accusations of thuggery directed at Fallon from a New Zealand perspective. Only Italian coach, Marcello Lippi, went so far as to charge Fallon with dirty play, quoted in two articles as accusing Fallon of elbowing eight of his players in the face (a286, a315). Although one article dubbed Fallon a bad boy “Bad boy Fallon wants a kind ref” (a315, headline), it was actually a rather sympathetic portrayal of Fallon, framing him as a victim of canny international-level defenders, who had used “every trick in the book” (a315, para. 6) to embellish episodes of physical contact, thereby deceiving referees. In fact, sympathetic is an apt word to describe the bulk of coverage regarding Fallon, his physical approach to football, and his tendency to fall afoul of referees. For instance, there was a sarcastic edge in a report that “Striker Rory Fallon was cautioned for use of the elbow during some *push and shove* which saw three *teak-tough* Italian defenders *crash to the ground clutching their chins*” (a329, para. 20, emphasis added). Another article came to Fallon’s defence, relating that a flaw in his aerial technique was leading FIFA referees to wrongly assume malicious intent; “Fallon is very good in the air but tends to go up with his arms extended. Even though he is stronger and better in the air than his opponent, a referee often just sees the arms and penalises him” (a55, para. 11) (see Figure 24 below).

Fallon, represented as a habitual perpetrator of on-field fouls, was also the pivotal figure in a number of articles regarding episodes of ‘diving’⁶² by opposing sides during All Whites matches (e.g., a68, a286, a312, a322, a329, a335, a337). This was particularly so in the All Whites warm-up match with Slovenia and the World Cup Group stage match against Italy. For example, Fallon was quoted as accusing Italian players of “diving around like little girls”, (a286, para. 4) and “rolling around like girls” (a286, para. 28). Here, the media’s representation of Fallon’s comments could also be seen to masculinise the All Whites by

⁶¹ Fallon was penalised again in the All Whites’ third and group match vs. Paraguay, taking his total to 15 for the tournament.

⁶² “Diving” involves attempts to gain an unfair advantage by feigning an injury and/or to appear as if a foul has been committed, and/or exaggerating the amount of contact present in a challenge.

associating the Italian team with femininity, establishing the All Whites, via Fallon's derision, as the more 'manly' of the two teams.



Figure 24: (i562), Rory Fallon (extreme foreground, in profile) receives a yellow card from referee, Carlos Batres, during the second group match against Italy.

While I have identified Rory Fallon as the embodiment of 2010 All Whites physical football style, a combative approach to the game has precedent in All Whites tradition. To revert again to the 1982 All Whites, one might well have assigned Fallon's role to players like Grant Turner or Steve Sumner, both of whom, although diminutive in stature as compared to Fallon, personified football physicality in their own era. Both men embodied a combative football style built around aggressive pursuit of the ball and a hard-nosed tackling approach, including strong tackles from behind⁶³, a practice that was *de rigueur* at the time. Indeed, historically speaking, associations between the All Whites and a physical brand of football are longstanding. Regarding the 1982 All Whites, Keane (2001) noted that the New Zealand public were able to, at least temporarily, pardon football's lack of masculine credibility due, in part, to the 1982 team's strong association with a physical approach to the game. The rough-and-tumble style of play employed in 1982 was altogether typical of New Zealand football teams, and no less applicable to their 2010 counterparts. Then, as now, a physical approach to football is likely to have appealed to the New Zealand public, tapping into the combative physicality mainstream New Zealand audiences have come to expect, and

⁶³ It was not until 1998, in the interest of player safety, that FIFA mandated that strong tackles from behind warranted either immediate sending-off (red card) or cautioning (yellow card). Since this date, tackles from behind rarely occur in football (FIFA, n.d.).

appreciate, in their staple diet of rugby union; the culturally hegemonic, masculine-approved sport. If anything, the mitigating effects of the physical style Keane originally noted were likely to have been even further enhanced by media coverage surrounding the 2010 All Whites in representations that maintained the team's traditional associations with physical football, but also brought a new focus to the team as unusually large and physically imposing athletes, at least in the context of football.

DISCUSSION

In approaching New Zealand media coverage surrounding the 2010 All Whites and its articulations with the likely national audience appreciations of masculinity, further historical and social-cultural contextualisation proves valuable. At this juncture, I wish to raise a few points that have informed my analysis within this chapter.

With regards to the 1982 World Cup campaign, Keane (2001) noted that in order to captivate the New Zealand public, the All Whites had to

exhibit characteristics deemed both masculine and representative of the 'nation' as a whole. This was no easy task for a code that had always been defined as the direct male opposite of rugby union and therefore was known in New Zealand sporting culture as the game for 'poofers', 'girls', or 'blouses' (p. 50-51).

To a large extent, the 1982 All Whites succeeded in this task. Their rugged approach to football temporarily enhanced the team's masculine credibility to a level acceptable in the eyes of New Zealand audiences, mitigating here, although not in the absolute and again fleetingly, a longstanding public aversion to the sport informed by the subordinated masculinities traditionally associated with the game and its athletes. Nearly three decades later, my analysis evidences a range of media coverage that indicates the 2010 All Whites remain heavily associated with the ruggedly physical style of play Keane (2001) described. As such, all indications suggest that the team's masculine credibility in the eyes of the New Zealand public would likely have been similarly enhanced. Indeed, many of rugby's defining characteristics (aggression, dogged pursuit of the ball, a proclivity for physical confrontation and willingness to commit oneself to bodily contact and collisions) are reflected in the way the All Whites have traditionally approached their football, and no less so than in 2010. Although it certainly pales in comparison to the physical intensity evident in rugby union, audiences engaging with the sampled texts seem likely to have perceived some agreeable, and

perhaps surprising, commonalities between the typical physicality of rugby union and the All Whites' physical approach to football. Such appreciations may have led mainstream audiences to be more receptive to the 2010 All Whites and their World Cup campaign and, subsequently, more likely to take an interest and/or develop a personal investment in the team.

The influence of rugby union is perhaps also evident in the sample's apparently sympathetic treatment of Rory Fallon, despite his arguably illegal use of roughhouse tactics, excessive aggression and tendency to make belligerent and inflammatory comments such as accusing Italian players of "diving around like little girls" (a286, para. 4). Steeped in the very same rugby-dominated, masculine sports climate as their national audiences, the media demonstrated considerable tolerance for physical and aggressive play. While coverage that suggested the All Whites opponents were 'diving like girls' likely did nothing to enhance football's reputation as a robust contact sport in the eyes of New Zealand audiences, the sympathetic response to the All Whites role in these episodes may reflect a notion that Fallon, and the All Whites in general, were, in effect, relatively 'hard' men competing in a 'soft' game and, as a result, were unfairly vilified (e.g., by referees, opposing officials, foreign media and fans) as being an excessively rough or dirty team.

In addition, if explicit depictions of muscularity do have some level of influence over audience appreciations of masculinity during textual encounters, as Tasker (1993) has argued, this raises the possibility of sympathetic audience responses to the frequent pictorial exposure of the All Whites players' bodies. The sampled texts subjected audiences to frequent depictions of the well-developed physiques belonging to All Whites players such as Ryan Nelsen, Rory Fallon and Winston Reid; all of whom are lean athletes exhibiting pronounced muscularity, not just in the lower body (as one might traditionally expect of a footballer) but also in the midriff and upper body. Indeed, there were many players in the 2010 All Whites squad who were comfortably beyond six foot in height and weighed in lean, at between 80 and 90 kilograms. If muscularity signifies masculinity therefore, even in part, the 2010 All Whites were most unlikely to have been perceived by audiences as fitting the traditional understanding of the football 'poofster', 'girl', or 'blouse', as Keane (2001) elucidated in his discussions regarding the 1982 team.

As of 2010, the All Whites athletes were considerably larger and more muscular, on average, than those who played the game in decades gone by. However, for some thirty years prior to

the outpouring of media attention and national fervour in 2010, the ingrained image of the All Whites in New Zealand culture had remained largely static, tied closely to the amateur squad of 1982; men who, although tremendous athletes in their own right, embodied as a collective a smaller, slighter and less imposing football physique. In light of the frequent representations of All Whites muscularity recorded in the sample, audiences would likely have perceived a level of incongruence between the physically impressive All Whites athletes of 2010 and an outdated cultural image of the All Whites that has likely lingered in recesses of the collective consciousness of the nation since 1982.

I suggest that New Zealand audiences would likely have struggled, like never before, to arrive at the traditional, derisive perspective of the All Whites; a perception that has traditionally been a function of football's supposed lack of masculinity credibility, and by proxy, the players' supposed masculine shortcomings for choosing this sport over something more 'manly'. Instead, New Zealand audiences seem likely to have ascribed the 2010 All Whites a modicum of masculine credibility, perhaps best described as an *acceptably masculine* status.

In summary, I argue that the 2010 All Whites were represented in such a way as to imply an acceptably masculine status sufficient to challenge lingering culturally-embedded suspicions regarding the masculine credibility of the team, its athletes and their athletic endeavours. I also suggest that this appears to have paved the way for personal investment amongst New Zealand mass audiences⁶⁴, including some traditionally averse to being linked to a subjugated sporting code long associated with ultimately baseless, but undeniably influential, ties to both femininity and homosexuality; both of which are traditional antitheses to hegemonic masculinities in the New Zealand.

⁶⁴ See pp. 53-56 for evidence of public investment in the 2010 All Whites.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS: CELEBRITY

In this chapter I examine discourses of celebrity identified in media representation of the 2010 All Whites and their FIFA World Cup campaign. All Whites captain Ryan Nelsen is a particular focus, as he was the individual most frequently and substantively represented in the sample. I argue that the media discourse surrounding Nelsen consistently associated him with a celebrity status, both inside and outside of New Zealand, and that New Zealand audiences would therefore have been encouraged to perceive Nelsen, and Nelsen alone, as the team's bona fide, world-class celebrity athlete.

The chapter begins by briefly re-establishing the notion of celebrity employed in this thesis, then further locating this with particular regards to sport/football in New Zealand. I then provide analysis focussed primarily upon media coverage regarding All Whites captain Ryan Nelsen. I identify a range of media discourses surrounding Nelsen, as both a private and public figure, relating these, where appropriate, to considerations of celebrity. Following this, I briefly examine the coverage focusing on All Whites coach Ricki Herbert, providing therein opportunities to compare and contrast Nelsen's coverage to that of another individual of similar prominence in the sample. I conclude the chapter with a short discussion that contextualises and further solidifies, through the introduction of key theoretical perspectives, what I suggest to be the most likely interpretation of these texts amongst New Zealand audiences; that being an acceptance of Nelsen's legitimate status as a celebrity athlete on the global scale.

Firstly, as detailed in the preceding literature review, this thesis understands celebrity to be a privileged, often influential, status held by certain individuals within a given socio-cultural context. A celebrity is, therefore, one who is highly visible and generally well known, be this locally, nationally or globally. Media representation is crucial in considerations of celebrity, as it is through media coverage that celebrity identities are primarily constructed, reflected and disseminated to audiences/fans (Turner, 2004). There are many paths to celebrity (Rojek, 2001), and although most celebrities become recognized for some form of valued talent, achievement, beauty, or other material quality, celebrity may also derive from sheer happenstance, or even out of ignominy. As of the late twentieth century, celebrity is increasingly mediated on the global scale via pervasive media networks (Mole, 2004).

Celebrities, particularly those who hold such status on the global scale, are increasingly becoming commoditised and configured into powerful brands built around economies of name and image that can extend a given celebrity's influence, and potential commercial value, well beyond traditional boundaries of genre, and culture/subculture (Moeran, 2003). As of the second half of the twentieth century, athletes have ranked amongst the most visible and influential of all mass-mediated celebrities (Andrews, 2001). A range of research has investigated celebrity athletes as endorsers of products, spokespeople/figureheads for charity and public education campaigns, as influential role models for youth and as branded identities with potentially broad market appeal. Celebrity status, for athletes, has historically been the domain of white men, although the final decades of the twentieth century indicate a rise in prominence for female athletes and, in particular, for male African-American athletes (Hoberman, 1997). In New Zealand, sporting figures who hold celebrity status are relatively few and far between. Largely confined to celebrity on a local/national scale (with arguable exceptions) these individuals are typically associated with either the culturally dominant sporting codes (e.g., rugby, cricket and netball) or with Olympic, world championship or Commonwealth level sport (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005b). Like their international counterparts, sporting celebrities in New Zealand are actively involved in product endorsement, as spokespeople for public education campaigns or charities, and occasionally move into careers that directly benefit from their celebrity profile (e.g., television presenting). These individuals tend to receive the bulk of their media coverage locally, and are altogether inconsequential celebrity figures with limited market appeal and media profile when compared to transnational sporting celebrities such as American golfer Tiger Woods, Indian cricketer Sachin Tendulkar, and English footballer David Beckham. Football in New Zealand has historically produced very few celebrity figures. For the most part, the nation's elite footballers (All Whites and other assorted professional players) go largely unrecognized in their day-to-day lives, are rarely subject to tabloid media intrusion upon their private lives, and seldom feature in mainstream or news media. Even the two individuals, Ryan Nelsen and Wynton Rufer, who might arguably be considered as New Zealand's football celebrities have traditionally been more readily represented as celebrity figures overseas (in England and Germany, respectively) although they remain well recognized in New Zealand.

Contrary to football's historical lack of homegrown celebrity figures, discourses of celebrity were identified as a prominent theme in national media coverage of the 2010 All Whites and their FIFA World Cup campaign. The analysis provided in the following section focuses

primarily upon coverage of All Whites captain Ryan Nelsen and team coach Ricki Herbert, the two individuals most heavily represented in the coverage. Table 11 (below) details the distribution of image and article focus amongst the top four individual All Whites squad members⁶⁵.

Table 11: Unique Instances of Media Focus Amongst Top Four Individuals

NAME (CODE)	ARTICLE FOCUS (n)	IMAGE FOCUS (n)	GALLERY IMAGE FOCUS (n)	TOTAL FOCUS (n)	SHARE OF SQUAD FOCUS IN ARTICLES (%)	SHARE OF SQUAD FOCUS IN IMAGES (%)	SHARE OF SQUAD FOCUS IN GALLERY IMAGES (%)	SHARE OF TOTAL SQUAD FOCUS (%)
Ryan Nelsen (RN)	122	81	9	212	14.6	19.4	12.3	16.0
Ricki Herbert (RH)	153	45	5	203	18.4	10.8	6.8	15.3
Winston Reid (WR)	68	59	3	130	8.2	14.1	4.1	9.8
Rory Fallon (RF)	70	35	4	109	8.4	8.4	5.5	8.2
OVERALL SQUAD TOTALS	833	417	73	1323				

Collectively, Ryan Nelsen, Ricki Herbert, Winston Reid and Rory Fallon were the most prominent individuals in the sample, these four individuals accounting for nearly half (49.3%) of all textual focus; specifically, Nelsen (16%), Herbert (15.3%), Reid (9.8%) and Fallon (8.2%). The remaining textual focus (50.7%) was distributed amongst a further 26 individuals. For reasons of space alone, my discussion here is limited to considerations of celebrity surrounding the representation of Nelsen and Herbert, who form the top tier of representation (31.3% of all coverage, when combined), and with relative parity. It should be said, however, that Reid and Fallon are notable, forming a clear second tier (17.9% of all coverage, when combined) and again a relative parity. The same cannot be said for the other 26 individuals featured in the sample, whose share of overall focus ranges from a maximum

⁶⁵ For a full coverage breakdown of all 34 individuals: see appendix 5.

of 6.2% to a minimum of 0.1% (averaging only 1.95%), with four additional individuals failing to feature at all.

RYAN NELSEN: CELEBRITY FOOTBALLER

2010 All Whites captain, Ryan Nelsen, was the individual featured mostly frequently across the sampled texts. Nelsen received substantive textual focus in 212 unique instances (122 written text, 90 images), representing a total of 16% of all coverage of the All Whites 2010 squad (players, coaches and support staff). Representation of Nelsen was largely consistent with patterns and thematic elements common in mediated celebrity detailed below.

As with many top-flight athletes, Nelsen most certainly qualifies for what Rojek (2001) would describe as an ‘achieved’ modality of celebrity, being in this case a celebrity status earned through success and proven excellence in the intensely competitive field of professional sport. Both the frequency of sampled texts that refer to Nelsen and the variety of journalistic ‘angles’ evident in these texts are therefore unsurprising, as Nelsen was surely one of the most important All Whites circa 2010; being team captain, the international ‘face’ of New Zealand football, and a gifted player. There is, however, an interesting dynamic evident throughout the sample regarding coverage of his high-profile public roles as All Whites team captain, as a professional athlete playing in one of the most prestigious and profitable sporting leagues in history⁶⁶ and as a worldwide football ambassador, versus coverage that brought focus to Nelsen as a low-key personality and intensely private citizen who embodied key Kiwi characteristics⁶⁷.

With regards to Nelsen as a public figure, the sample evidenced some superlative hyperbole that framed him as a glamorous, captivating and attractive celebrity sportsman. Coverage of this nature established Nelsen as the undisputed star player of the All Whites, and the public figurehead, and the most ‘in demand’ figure on the New Zealand sporting landscape (at the time). One article exemplifies this trend when it posed the rhetorical question,

...which other high-profile New Zealand sporting star would have the personality, class, humour and articulateness to keep an intimidating audience (of fans and media) spellbound for 90 minutes? (a88, para. 14)

⁶⁶ The Barclays Premier League (top-flight English professional football).

⁶⁷ See p. 109.

In grandiose terms that were typical of his coverage, Nelsen was conveyed to audiences as New Zealand's football "Rock Star" (a41, headline), as having enjoyed a "...glittering career" (a277, para. 9), and as the undisputed "star attraction" of the 2010 All Whites squad, unlike "less glamorous players such as Simon Elliot and David Mulligan"⁶⁸ (a41, para. 4). One article referred to Nelsen's physical appearance, a common fixation in 'tabloid' media coverage of celebrities (Turner, Bonner, & Marshall 2000). This piece detailed that website kickette.com was running a poll to decide the world's sexiest player physique, in which Nelsen was matched in a head-to-head vote against superstar premiership footballer, and English captain, Steven Gerrard (a215)⁶⁹.

Nelsen's celebrity status was also subject to commentary during coverage of his brief tour around New Zealand (on official All Whites and personal business) including his former home of Christchurch in the weeks prior to the World Cup (e.g., a17, a8, a10, a88, a156, a155). This coverage also featured an associated promotional campaign for his co-authored book *Road to the World Cup*, and related appearances and signing sessions. Particular attention was given to Nelsen's popularity with fans at signings (see Figure 25 below), and the obvious involvement, and physical presence, of professional public relations and marketing staff (a minor entourage) assisting Nelsen with the book launch, the development of his "local brand" (a8, para. 6), media commitments, and public appearances.



Figure 25: (i3). Ryan Nelsen, the All Whites' star attraction in 2010

⁶⁸ Both Elliot and Mulligan have been full professionals within the prestigious English football system, Elliot in the Premiership (highest level of English football) with Fulham F.C, and Mulligan in the Football League Championship (2nd highest level of English football) with Barnsley F.C.

⁶⁹ Due to subsequent problems with the website, it is unclear whether Nelsen or Gerrard 'won' this vote.

Nelsen's portrayal as a football figurehead also appeared to enhance his celebrity status by establishing him as something of a messianic figure, with a range of coverage suggesting that he existed, at the time, as the single most important individual in determining the fortunes of the team. For example, Nelsen was suggested to be the "most important player to his team" (a463, para. 1), "the most important All White of all time" (a67, para. 2) and "New Zealand's only world class player" (a388, para. 13). It was also said he served as "the All Whites talisman..." (a471, para. 10) and team "heartbeat" (a67, para. 25). Another article placed him as the pivotal figure in a rebirth of New Zealand football fortunes: "Thank Nelsen for game's revival" (a463, headline). It was further suggested "without Nelsen, we still generally lose at the high levels ... with him, we can even win." (a67, para. 16). Finally, regarding the team's unprecedented success and media profile in 2010, it was proposed that "they have become the fairytale story of the World Cup and Nelsen is the handsome prince" (a463, para. 9).

Media coverage of Nelsen also noted his "herculean performances" (a312, para. 15) as a defender, and also his inspirational and transformative leadership qualities as team captain, the media dubbing him, on more than one occasion, as "captain fantastic" (a71, para. 26; a409, para. 6). In this vein, Nelsen was said to be "the ultimate leader, surely the best captain ... New Zealand has ever produced" (a415, para. 5), while another author implored the audience to "hail the fabulous Ryan Nelsen and his brave men..." (a348, para. 9). There was discussion of his supposedly natural capabilities as a leader of men (a155) or, as one headline proclaimed, "Ryan Nelsen Born to lead the All Whites" (a156, headline). Nelsen's effectiveness as a leader was further linked to a reported universally respected status amongst his 2010 All Whites teammates, particularly due to his demonstrated ability to function at the highest level of football for a number of years against some of the very best players in the world⁷⁰ (e.g., a67, a415).

Nelsen's suggested importance to the team effort, and also the level to which he dominated media coverage as the star attraction, was further suggested in the extent to which his wellbeing was monitored. The analysis revealed that, that aside from ongoing concerns regarding vice captain Tim Brown's struggles with a persistent shoulder injury (the topic that dominated all of his coverage), Nelsen was the only other All White to have significant attention drawn to his wellbeing. Whether or not other members of the 23-man playing squad experienced bouts of illness (e.g., colds and flu, digestive problems) and/or injuries (e.g.,

⁷⁰ At the time of writing, Nelsen captained Blackburn Rovers in the prestigious English Premier League.

bruising, strains, sprains, etc) during the 68 days of the sample period remains moot. It is likely, however, that given the intensity of the training and competition phases surrounding the FIFA World Cup 2010, and also players and staff having to adjust to a foreign climate (South Africa) and time zone, these may well have occurred and were simply not featured in a significant manner. The focus on Nelsen's health was most evident with particular regards to two ultimately inconsequential bouts of illness he experienced during the sampled period, the first an ear infection, the second a stomach bug. These ailments were featured in many articles (e.g., a122, a130, a353, a365, a409, a471), with the stomach bug informing article headlines on two occasions: "Captain Ryan Nelsen only 'at 40 per cent'" (a389, headline) and "Ryan Nelsen overcomes stomach bug" (a388, headline). Nelsen ended up sitting out an unimportant 'warm up' match against Chile (due to the ear infection) and played through his stomach problems. As such, given the evidently inconsequential nature of these ailments, this level of coverage might well be viewed as inordinate and evidence of the media 'hype' (exaggerated publicity intended to excite public interest) commonplace in celebrity coverage (Turner, 2004).

In a similar manner to the way the New Zealand media utilised international media coverage to co-opt the national underdog narrative⁷¹, the national media devoted considerable attention to a variety of performance-based accolades credited to Nelsen on notable international football websites and sports media networks. Specifically, a number of articles (e.g., a296, a323, a345, a385) discussed the selection of Nelsen by international football website goal.com as a player of the week during the World Cup group stage. Major UK newspaper *the Guardian* (via its online presence at guardian.co.uk) placed Nelsen twice in its top 10 World Cup Performances (e.g., a504, a508, a531); rating the All White captain as a standout player in two of the three games he played at the tournament. Attention was also drawn to Nelsen being selected by American sports network ESPN (e.g., a518, a523, a528, a531) as a member of their hypothetical World Cup best XI squad. Finally, it was noted that Nelsen was selected in both a hypothetical World Cup team of the day, as picked by BBC football analysts and also in a World Cup select team, chosen by analysts at EuroSport TV (a385). Nelsen's status as a celebrity footballer, as argued by me and through his media portrayal in general, is given some credence by these many accolades. Coverage of this sort, wherein the national media have deliberately chosen to highlight such accolades, establishes a level of celebrity by association for Nelsen by linking him to some of the world's biggest superstar

⁷¹ See p.68 for more on New Zealand's sporting 'underdog' status.

footballers such as Xavi (Spain), Wesley Sneijder (Netherlands), David Villa (Spain), Diego Forlan (Uruguay), and Robinho (Brazil), all of whom were selected alongside Nelsen.

Nelsen's private life was also extensively covered, with many articles penetrating beyond his public persona into what appeared to be authentic and intimate representations; including his relationships with immediate family and friends, his memories of childhood/adolescence, and also some conjecture regarding his future plans. All of these are angles of approach commonplace in celebrity coverage (Turner, 2004), supposing therein a level of audience interest in the individual that extends well beyond the veneer of a carefully managed and monitored public image. Specifically, articles brought focus to the impending and subsequent birth of his daughter and second child, Charlotte (a505, a516), his totemic ritual of stitching the names of his children into his match boots (a260, a289; see Figure 26 below), and Nelsen's marriage to his American wife Monica (a8, a260, a505, a516). Coverage also delved into his early childhood memories and educational history in New Zealand (e.g., a8, a10, a11, a88, a155, a156), as well as his college football years and subsequent graduation from Stanford University with a degree in political science (a15, a65). Finally, speculations over his future football and post-football plans were also of note, including the possibility that Nelsen might play out his final professional years for New Zealand's only professional club, the Wellington Phoenix (a11, a65), his wish to continue playing with the All Whites in future international matches and tournament campaigns (a8), and his hopes to (eventually) move from his base in England to live fulltime with family in his wife's native country (a8). There were also suggestions that Nelsen, post-football, might be interested in a business career (a8) and/or potentially furthering his studies in political science (a65).



Figure 26: (i289), Ryan Nelsen and boots stitched with his children's names.

With further regard to his private life, Nelsen was also represented as a humble man of generally wholesome qualities and upstanding character. One headline asked the rhetorical question: “Is Ryan Nelsen NZ sports ‘Mr Clean’?” (a8, headline), with Nelsen further dubbed “Mr Clean” in the headline of another article (a156, headline). It was also noted by one journalist that any efforts to uncover “dirt” (a10, para. 2) on Nelsen would prove fruitless as ultimately,

Nelsen provides a large dollop of common sense and an earthy, practical viewpoint on the image of professional footballers as flashy, overpaid revellers with too much money and not enough discipline (a15, para. 10)

Nelsen himself admitted to being “pretty boring” (a10, para. 14), and to having never been the focus of the scandalous tabloid journalism that perennially surrounds the big-money, high-exposure athletes of the premier league in which he plays (e.g., a156, a155, a10)⁷². In the sort of self-effacing admissions typically evidenced through his own reported comments, Nelsen further admitted to having indulged in his own fair share of drinking, gambling and partying (in moderation) but reportedly accepted that his life was actually rather less exciting than typical public perceptions of Premier League players would suggest. He was reported as advocating for the everyman qualities of other premier league stars (a156), countering public perceptions that premierships footballers live a life of glitz and glamour. His comments suggested, instead, that (most) top players, despite being multi-millionaires and (in many cases) worldwide celebrities, simply did their jobs and returned home to their wives and families at the end of the day, trying all the while to draw as little media attention as possible. Here, the media provide a representation of Nelsen that established him as a man of reluctant celebrity; an ultimately ‘camera-shy’ ‘family man’, leading an altogether unspectacular life with well defined boundaries between his private life and the glitz, glamour and scandal surrounding careers in premierships football.

In the next section I examine coverage of All Whites head coach Ricki Herbert. Herbert was the second most covered individual and, together with Nelsen, these two men featured substantively in nearly a third (31.3%) of all media coverage. The following analysis

⁷² Premier League players typically earn enormous salaries that can facilitate/encourage lavish lifestyles. Nelsen himself (on a relatively modest Premier League contract) reputedly still earns more than the entire New Zealand representative rugby union side (the All Blacks) combined. Numerous Premier League players have been infamous for their excessive and/or illicit lifestyles.

provides opportunities to compare and contrast the respective coverage of these two prominent individuals with regard to considerations of celebrity.

RICKI HERBERT: NON-CELEBRITY COACH

2010 All Whites coach Ricki Herbert was the subject of substantive textual focus in 203 unique instances (153 occasions in words, 50 in images), and accounted for 15.3% of all focus distributed amongst members of the All Whites 2010 squad (inclusive of players, coaches and support staff). Whilst achieving a relative parity with Ryan Nelsen in all coverage (Nelsen 16%, Herbert 15.3%), the composition of this coverage was significantly different, with Herbert featuring more often than Nelsen in articles (153 occasions, as opposed to Nelsen's 122) but considerably less often in images (50 occasions to Nelsen's 90). From a thematic perspective, coverage of Herbert was also found to be significantly different, with Herbert's frequent representations appearing to be tied, almost entirely, to his high-profile role as team coach, and lacking any significant alignment, explicit or implicit, with celebrity status. Three key points of contrast are noteworthy at this juncture.

Firstly, while Herbert featured more often than Nelsen in passages of article text, the vast majority of these instances arose in the form of direct quotations. These quotations were derived from a range of formal (e.g., press conferences, publicity events, post-match reactions) and informal (e.g., training sessions and social events) situations and were largely related to football matters, with the All Whites being the obvious focus. On more than two thirds of occasions wherein Herbert was brought into focus across the sampled articles, he is quoted in his professional capacity, as an elite football coach, providing on the record comments. These included: matters of team selection and strategy, such as, seeking "stability" in selecting Reid and Smith to start in defence against Slovenia (a84, para. 10); player performance, such as, "He's [Rory Fallon] done extremely well. Tonight he was very strong and played his part", (a55, para. 7); and discussing player health and wellbeing, such as, "the players have worked hard, they're probably slightly leg weary tonight..." (a75, para. 22). Here the vast majority of Herbert's mediated representations appear to link his high profile primarily to his role as the officially appointed All Whites coach and an implied level of public interest in the wealth of information, insight, and analysis he might therefore provide in such a capacity, as opposed to any substantial level of celebrity status born of public interest in the man himself.

Secondly, Herbert's own life and times are not represented in a significant fashion. Unlike the aforementioned coverage of Ryan Nelsen, there is a general lack of background coverage and/or 'profile' articles regarding Herbert: his childhood and playing background noted only in passing, and his family featuring rarely. In contrast to the frequent coverage of Ryan Nelsen's private life, there were only two instances (out of 153) wherein representations of Herbert appeared to enter into intimate territory via discussion of his immediate family. In the first instance (a150), Herbert's son, Kale, was introduced to audiences (including a photograph, see Figure 27 below). Audiences were then further informed that the youngster was proud of his father's professional achievements and was travelling to South Africa to watch his father coach the All Whites. Herbert himself, however, was not a central figure here, with the weight of text actually devoted to Kale's own football exploits⁷³. The article noted that "After being an established member of the King's College first XI in Auckland, he [Kale] was put in the Wellington college second XI". Kale goes on say, "I thought that was where I would stay. I never thought I would be in the first XI and then the captain. It has been a great couple of years." (a150, para. 7-8).



Figure 27: (i25), Kale Herbert packs for the World Cup.

⁷³ Kale was reported as being the 1st XI Wellington College defender and team captain.

In the second instance (a384), Herbert was said to have led a “lonely existence” (para. 20) in recent years, having experienced isolation from his family, the pressure surrounding football coaching at the highest level. In this article, Herbert’s immediate family were all named (but not pictured), and it was suggested that their arrival, on-hand, in South Africa, was of great importance to Herbert:

What has made the past two weeks that much more special for Herbert is the presence of his family. Wife Raewyn and twin teenagers Kale and Sacha were among those in the stands for both matches (a384, para. 16)

Not only is this coverage of Herbert’s private life insignificant proportionally, but on both occasions it remained rooted in a football context and tied to Herbert’s role as coach. This limited focus appears to imply a media perception of a general lack of public interest in Herbert’s existence beyond his official capacities with the All Whites.

Finally, Herbert’s coaching role was again the focus in a range of coverage that surveyed his future with the All Whites, particularly during the period beginning with the All Whites elimination (at the conclusion of the World Cup group stages) and continuing through until the end of sampling (e.g., a371, a377, a446, a454, a477, a478, 483, a493, a495, a500, a513, a514, a522, a530). As his contract was timed to expire immediately after the World Cup, extensive comment and conjecture soon surrounded the future of his role with New Zealand Football⁷⁴, if any, and, in particular, whether he would/could be contracted to preside over the All Whites for another term. This line of coverage became something of a media saga. Initially, New Zealand Football chairman, Frank Van Hattum, related his perspective that suggested Herbert was welcome, and expected, to re-sign for another term with the All Whites: “We want to keep Ricki, New Zealand wants to keep Ricki, Ricki wants to stay. Whether that all comes together that’s a story for another day, but right now, Ricki’s intention is to keep coaching the New Zealand team” (a371, para. 12). At the same time, other coverage was presenting mixed signals. For example, it was reported that Herbert had “strongly hinted there were offshore offers in the pipeline”, while also stating that “staying on as All Whites coach was a priority” (a495, para. 1-2). Articles then began forecasting his imminent departure from the New Zealand football scene. One article headlined “Clubs chase All Whites Coach Ricki Herbert” (a377, headline), suggested that the All Whites World Cup

⁷⁴ New Zealand Football (NZF) is the governing body for the sport of association football (soccer) in New Zealand.

success might end up being a “poisoned chalice – robbing New Zealand of coach Ricki Herbert” (a377, para. 1), whose services were now likely in demand around the world. Yet another article noted, “Among those reportedly being head hunted was coach Ricki Herbert” (a371, para. 9). For some time, Herbert was suggested to be close to a decision (e.g., a495, a513, a522, a530), eventually committing to a long-term contract with the Wellington Phoenix, strategically timed to allow him to also re-sign with the All Whites through to the next FIFA World Cup in 2014, with these contracts evidently leaving Herbert “better off financially in both roles, but a long way short of what his counterparts elsewhere receive” (a525, para. 6).

DISCUSSION

Ricki Herbert and Ryan Nelsen were clearly the individuals most frequently and substantively represented in the sample. Although they achieved a relative parity of coverage, there were significant differences in regards to the thematic strands surrounding their respective representations. Herbert certainly appeared as a prominent figure, but the bulk of his coverage revolved around his professional role as head coach of the All Whites, tending to involve a narrow focus upon football matters. Deviations from this tack were few and far between and, even when they occurred, inevitably involved some tangible links back to the sport of football and his professional role as a coach. Despite being represented as a well respected figure, of considerable expertise, he appeared as something of a one-dimensional character: a man most likely to be identified, by audiences, as a professional coach, suggesting that his high profile in the sample was linked therefore to the status attached to his job, as opposed to any significant level of celebrity status. Unlike Herbert, Ryan Nelsen is, on occasions, explicitly referred to as celebrity figure; – as the “star attraction” (a41, para. 4) and a “Rock Star” (a41, headline) – and further linked to celebrity via his alignment with a number of football’s most recognised celebrity athletes.

Ryan Nelsen’s coverage also involved a much broader and more intimate range of representations than those surrounding Herbert. Amongst other things, representations of Nelsen surveyed his private life (e.g., family and lifestyle), history (e.g., childhood, youth and young adulthood) and excavated some of his personal introjections (e.g., future plans, hopes and aspirations, philosophies). Such a range of intimate coverage of Nelsen also promotes what Horton and Wohl (1956) first established as a *parasocial relationship*, which is an important process when considering audience appreciations of a given individual’s celebrity

status. According to Horton and Wohl, in parasocial (one-way) interactions, audiences and public figures meet in mediated contact, the former coming to know much about the latter – while the latter tends to know little, or nothing, of the former. These one-sided interactions may become profound or intimate, but only to audiences, who may come over time to develop a level of interest in and/or attachment to the target of their attention. If attachment/interest continues to build (e.g., becoming more frequent, widespread and intense) the target of all this attention will likely undergo a metamorphosis of sorts, emerging from the process into the public domain as a highly visible, well recognised ‘celebrity’ figure. There seems sufficient evidence in the sample to suggest that New Zealand audiences may have engaged in parasocial interaction with Nelsen. Certainly the extensive and nuanced coverage that surrounded him provides many opportunities for the development of audience interest or attachment and, therefore, raises further potential for Nelsen’s elevation to celebrity status in the eyes of New Zealand audiences.

The prospect of audiences developing a level of interest and attachment to Nelsen, sufficient to fuel a parasocial evolution of his celebrity, would seem to be further enhanced by certain idiosyncrasies within the New Zealand socio-cultural milieu. For example, Nelsen was often depicted as a man of reluctant celebrity; an ultimately camera-shy, family man with a strong work ethic and an altogether unspectacular life away from the glitz of premiership football. This framing of Nelsen as a diffident individual undermines what Schickel (1985) established as the most common fantasies audiences hold about celebrities, sporting or otherwise; (a) that celebrities live free from the burdens, chores, rituals and trivialities of everyday life, and (b) that they function in exclusive social circles of the rich and famous, out-of-step with the common man/woman. However, in the New Zealand context, Nelsen’s establishment as a humble, self-effacing individual with apparent everyman qualities meshes comfortably with the traditional character qualities surrounding the dominant mythos of New Zealand masculine culture⁷⁵ (Phillips, 1996), within which humility, pragmatism and egalitarianism are central pillars; yachtsman/adventurer, Sir Peter Blake, and mountaineer/humanitarian Sir Edmund Hillary, serving as two of the most iconic exemplars.

Media representations that conflated Ryan Nelsen with celebrity status may also go some distance towards legitimising the sport in the eyes of New Zealand audiences. In the simplest logic, if New Zealand is indeed capable of producing footballers like Nelsen, recognised

⁷⁵ As discussed in Chapter V (see p. 76).

internationally as being of the highest calibre, this must surely suggest the possibility that there could be others to come. In this case, precedent may be tantamount to proof. As such, Nelsen's legitimised status as a celebrity footballer may raise the expectations that New Zealand audiences hold regarding the All Whites. It may inspire a degree of optimism that, potentially, if conditions remain conducive, there could one day be internationally recognised 'star' footballers scattered throughout the All Whites.

To conclude, in this chapter I have made the case that 2010 All Whites captain, Ryan Nelsen, was most likely to be interpreted by New Zealand audiences as a bona fide, 'world-class' celebrity athlete. In particular, I have brought attention to the extent of his coverage in the sample, as compared to his All Whites peers, and also the specific manners in which his representation across the sample appeared to adhere to typical themes and patterns of media coverage surrounding celebrities (as opposed to the coverage of the other prominent figure, All Whites coach Ricki Herbert). Nelsen's portrayal was also likely to contradict a degree of audience preconceptions regarding premiership footballers, the likes of whom are seldom exposed to New Zealand audiences with this degree of detail/intimacy, instead often viewed from afar as aloof, untouchable multi-millionaire figures who might as well hail from another planet. New Zealanders encountering the sorts of representations of Nelsen I have outlined above are most likely to have viewed him as being a typical Kiwi male and, therefore, uncommonly approachable for a premiership footballer. Given all of the above, I have argued that New Zealand audiences engaging in parasocial interactions with media representations of Ryan Nelsen were likely to have perceived him as a transparent, amiable and, ultimately, palatable celebrity figure.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The wealth of coverage surrounding the All Whites' 2010 FIFA World Cup finals campaign marked, effectively, only the second time that the All Whites have become highly visible in the New Zealand national media in protracted form. Consequentially, this public second-coming of the All Whites provided an ideal occasion upon which to investigate soccer's socio-cultural positioning in New Zealand as of the year 2010. The analysis presented within this thesis identified a number of textual themes in media coverage surrounding the 2010 All Whites. By and large, these themes appeared to disrupt traditional discourses about soccer's place in New Zealand's contemporary culture and society. My findings explicate a number of these key disruptions.

Firstly, the 2010 All Whites were represented as a team of individuals with compelling links to New Zealand national identity in both implicit and explicit forms. Players were *patriotised* in a range of coverage that explicitly established their national affiliation via their formative histories, geographic origins, and personal displays or affirmations of national identity, and interweaved with implicit ties to well recognized, elements of New Zealand's Maori and Kiwiana culture. The All Whites were further tied to New Zealand national identity via the media's co-opting of the nation's culturally embedded self-narrative of *underdog* status, a discourse that consistently framed coverage. Secondly, media portrayal of the 2010 All Whites represented a generalized image of the players as being tall and muscular football athletes with a penchant for a combative play style based on raw athleticism, aggression and physicality. Through such coverage, the media ascribed to the All Whites an *acceptably masculine* status, a status that articulated, in part, with traditional hegemonic masculinity in the New Zealand context, while remaining, ultimately, adjacent. Thirdly, coverage of the 2010 All Whites established a convincing football celebrity in the form of Ryan Nelsen. Coverage of Nelsen was frequent, intimate, and adhered broadly to typical patterns of media coverage surrounding international celebrity figures. The construction and promotion of Nelsen's celebrity status, however, made more palatable and endearing to New Zealand audiences because of his ongoing media representation as a modest, family-orientated man with a marked work ethic, all of which are core qualities in New Zealand's traditional masculine culture.

Given all of the above, when considering national media coverage of the All Whites 2010 FIFA World Cup it is immediately apparent that narratives about New Zealand's relationship with its All Whites, as constructed and propagated in the national media, have undergone a transformation since 1982. The team, its players, and, to an extent, the sport of soccer itself, appear to be represented to New Zealand media audiences as a more attractive, and more palatable package than ever before. Whilst the All Whites of 1982 were subject to popular associations with effeminacy (particularly from those within rugby circles), a palpable level of public xenophobia over the team's makeup, and lacked a recognized soccer star of international caliber⁷⁶, media coverage of their 2010 counterparts painted a very different picture. Evidently, as media representation has so keenly evidenced in my study, 28 years can be a long time in the socio-cultural evolution of a sport.

Furthermore, the media discourses I have identified in this thesis (nationalism, masculinity, and celebrity) do not appear to have occurred in isolation from each other. Instead, each, although significant in its own right, appears to have overlapped and interweaved with the next. As I have argued in earlier chapters, these discourses appear to have transmitted preferred meanings and messages that, I feel, steer audience understandings of the All Whites towards New Zealand's socio-cultural core. The net effect of the interplay between these discourses, with each reinforcing the other, perhaps goes some way toward understanding the apparent rapidity of soccer's relatively recent transition away from the New Zealand socio-cultural periphery, towards its centre. This is something New Zealand's Sport and Recreation Council (SPARC) recently noted,

Football (soccer) in New Zealand is gaining momentum. While football is a hugely popular sport globally, it hasn't held that status in New Zealand. That said, football has recently captured the country's attention with the rise of the Wellington Phoenix football club and the resulting 'Yellow Fever' fan base. Combine this with a brave performance by the All Whites to qualify for and compete strongly at the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, and football in New Zealand is entering a fresh, potentially electrifying era. (SPARC, 2010, p. 16)

As to what had first catalyzed, and now continues to fuel soccer's apparent ascension over recent decades, many factors can be mooted. One might cite, for instance, New Zealand's

⁷⁶ Wynton Rufer was only an emerging talent at the time of the 1982 FIFA World Cup. His career ascended to impressive heights in the years following.

increasingly diverse ethnic profile, the success of Kiwi professional players such as Ryan Nelsen and Simon Elliot in the prestigious and well publicized English Premier League, the ongoing influence of New Zealand's expatriate English community, soccer's increasing popularity as a participation sport both for boys and girls, and ongoing suggestions of a 'white flight'⁷⁷ from rugby union towards other sports. While all of the above lies beyond the scope of this thesis, it does highlight that there are a wide range of possibilities for future research explorations that extend our understandings of soccer's articulations with New Zealand culture and society. Regardless of its particular form, further research is desperately needed as there is presently limited insight and understanding of soccer in the New Zealand context (e.g., Cox & Thompson, 2000; Guoth, 2006, Keane, 2001; Little, 2002), and particularly so with regard to men's football. This does a disservice not only to the sport itself but, also, to the increasing number of New Zealanders who are its stakeholders.

As I write this, I think of the burgeoning player base of soccer at the junior level. It strikes me that across the next two decades there is likely to be a bumper crop of players set to bolster the already substantial senior player base in New Zealand. Going forward, an increased player base also seems likely to generate a succession of Wynton Rufer and Ryan Nelsen in-the-making, a potential wealth of young talent that may enhance an All Whites team that has already proven itself competitive at the highest international levels; as the performance at the FIFA World Cup 2010 so ably demonstrated. If soccer is indeed becoming increasingly accepted and, dare I say, respected, in the New Zealand socio-cultural context, I look forward to a future where all of these children (elites and neophytes alike) are free to pursue soccer without having to negotiate the distractions, detractions and disincentives that plagued me, and many of my soccer-playing friends, growing up in the New Zealand of the 1980's and 1990's. I can speak for a number of us in saying that we certainly felt, at times, like we were devoting our energies to something (soccer) altogether alien, lacking the quintessential 'manliness' and 'Kiwianness' required to ever be anything other than *alternative*.

Although my ruminations are predicated on a best case scenario, at the time writing conditions are conducive to such a cautiously optimistic outlook. Of course, although we can gain a sense of what has transpired over the last 28 years, there is no way to reliably foresee

⁷⁷ "White Flight" is a colloquial term that refers to European (Pakeha) parental concerns about their sons encountering increasing numbers of stronger and heavier Polynesian boys on the rugby field. It has been suggested that this has resulted in some European parents forbidding their boys from playing rugby, or redirecting them toward sports (such as soccer and cricket) where there is a perception of lower injury risk (see Ryan, 2007).

what will transpire over the next 28 years. The eternal cynic, from a place deep within, is at some pains to remind me that pundits were similarly optimistic in 1982; with most of them ending up sorely disappointed when the All Whites quickly slipped once again under the media radar, and soccer found itself, once again, at the nation's socio-cultural periphery. Based on current evidence, however, it seems entirely fair to suggest that, for the time being in New Zealand, the All Whites are alright with us.

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APPENDIX 3: NOTES ON THE SCREEN CAPTURING PROCESS EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY, AND ON THE EMBEDDEDING OF CODES WITHIN ‘SCREEN DUMPS’

All sampled items (articles and images) were browsed in their native web-formats in a *Mozilla Firefox* web browser window at a full-screen resolution of 1920x1080 pixels. Articles were positioned on screen in such a way as the entire item, both written text and any embedded images, were able to be captured in a single full screen capture, often known as a *screen dump*. This was accomplished via Firefox’s built-in scrolling and zooming functions.

The screen dumps themselves were captured using a software program called *FastStone Capture*, a simple but fully-featured screen capturing tool that allows the capturing of anything on screen in a variety of image formats and resolutions. All screen dumps were saved in a .jpg format, as to provide a reasonably high-resolution image at a premium of file size. On rare occasions, articles ran at a word length wherein zooming-out to get it all on a single screen made the article entirely unreadable. On such occasions, these articles were captured in two or three readable parts and then re-combined together into a single large .jpg using FastStone Capture’s built-in image editing tools.

Finally, I used Google’s free image management software package *Picasa 3* to organize, code and examine the sample. Using Picasa 3’s in built image *tagging* functions, I was able to embed each article or image (in its .jpg state) with all the relevant coding(s), as detailed on pages 46-55 of this thesis. This, in turn, enabled me to easily reference and cross-reference the sample using Picasa 3’s native search function, which supports Boolean operators (e.g., AND/OR). For example, had I wished to locate all articles featuring Ryan Nelsen within the pre-tournament period, I would need only input “AWRN AND TSPT” into Picasa 3’s search bar, immediately returning a ‘hit’ count (the number of items that match the criteria) and also ‘thumbnail’ views of only those articles tagged as featuring Ryan Nelsen (coding: AWRN) and being of pre-tournament origins (coding: TSPT). Via these Boolean search requests I was able to emulate some of the functionality of more complicated research software packages with almost no learning curve and totally without cost. It enabled me to easily query the sample, and to automate much of what would otherwise be manual arithmetic and cross-referencing of the sample.

APPENDIX 4: ALL WHITES 2010 TOURING PARTY

PLAYERS (ID CODE)		COACHING STAFF (ID CODE)	SUPPORT STAFF (ID CODE)
James Bannatyne (JB2)	Michael McGlinchey (MM)	Raul Blanco (RB)	Celeste Geertsema (CG2)
Andy Baron (AB)	Glen Moss (GM)	Clint Gosling (CG)	Wade Irvine (WI)
Leo Bertos (LB)	David Mulligan (DM)	Ricki Herbert (RH)	Roland Jeffery (RJ)
Tim Brown (TB)	Ryan Nelsen (RN)	Brian Turner (BT)	Kenny McMillan (KM)
Andrew Boyens (AB2)	Mark Paston (MP)		Jamie Scott (JS)
Aaron Clapham (AC)	Cole Peverley (CP)		Phil Warbrick (PW)
Jeremy Christie (JC)	Ben Sigmund (BS)		
Simon Elliott (SE)	Shane Smeltz (SS)		
Rory Fallon (RF)	Tommy Smith (TS)		
Chris Killen (CK)	Ivan Vicelich (IV)		
Tony Lochhead (TL)	Chris Wood (CW)		

APPENDIX 5: DISTRIBUTION OF MEDIA FOCUS AMONGST ALL WHITES SQUAD

NAME	ARTICLE FOCUS (n)	IMAGE FOCUS (n)	GALLERY IMAGE FOCUS (n)	TOTAL FOCUS (n)	SHARE OF SQUAD FOCUS IN ARTICLES (%)	SHARE OF SQUAD FOCUS IN IMAGES (%)	SHARE OF SQUAD FOCUS IN GALLERY IMAGES (%)	SHARE OF TOAL SQUAD FOCUS (%)
Ryan Nelsen	122	81	9	212	14.6	19.4	12.3	16.0
Ricki Herbert	153	45	5	203	18.4	10.8	6.8	15.3
Winston Reid	68	59	3	130	8.2	14.1	4.1	9.8
Rory Fallon	70	35	4	109	8.4	8.4	5.5	8.2
Mark Paston	54	19	9	82	6.5	4.6	12.3	6.2
Shane Smeltz	42	30	10	82	5.0	7.2	13.7	6.2
Simon Elliott	38	16	4	58	4.6	3.8	5.5	4.4
Ivan Vicelich	26	17	11	54	3.1	4.1	15.1	4.1
Tim Brown	34	15	0	49	4.1	3.6	0.0	3.7
Leo Burtos	27	10	3	40	3.2	2.4	4.1	3.0
Tommy Smith	28	9	0	37	3.4	2.2	0.0	2.8
Chris Wood	21	12	4	37	2.5	2.9	5.5	2.8
Ben Sigmund	20	9	5	34	2.4	2.2	6.8	2.6
Chris Killen	21	9	0	30	2.5	2.2	0.0	2.3
Tony Lochhead	17	7	1	25	2.0	1.7	1.4	1.9
Jeremy Christie	17	4	1	22	2.0	1.0	1.4	1.7
Brian Turner	14	4	3	21	1.7	1.0	4.1	1.6
Aaron Clapham	11	6	0	17	1.3	1.4	0.0	1.3
Jeremy Brockie	13	2	0	15	1.6	0.5	0.0	1.1
Glen Moss	10	4	0	14	1.2	1.0	0.0	1.1
Andy Baron	7	5	1	13	0.8	1.2	1.4	1.0
James Bannatyne	5	4	0	9	0.6	1.0	0.0	0.7
Clint Gosling	0	6	0	6	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.5
David Mulligan	3	3	0	6	0.4	0.7	0.0	0.5
Michael McGlinchey	3	2	0	5	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.4
Cole Peverley	5	0	0	5	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.4
Andrew Boyens	1	2	0	3	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.2
Celeste Geertsema	2	1	0	3	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.2
Raul Blanco	0	1	0	1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Phil Warbrick	1	0	0	1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
Wade Irvine	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Roland Jeffery	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Kenny McMillan	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Jamie Scott	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTALS	833	417	73	1323				

